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MARYLAND

Historical Magazine



THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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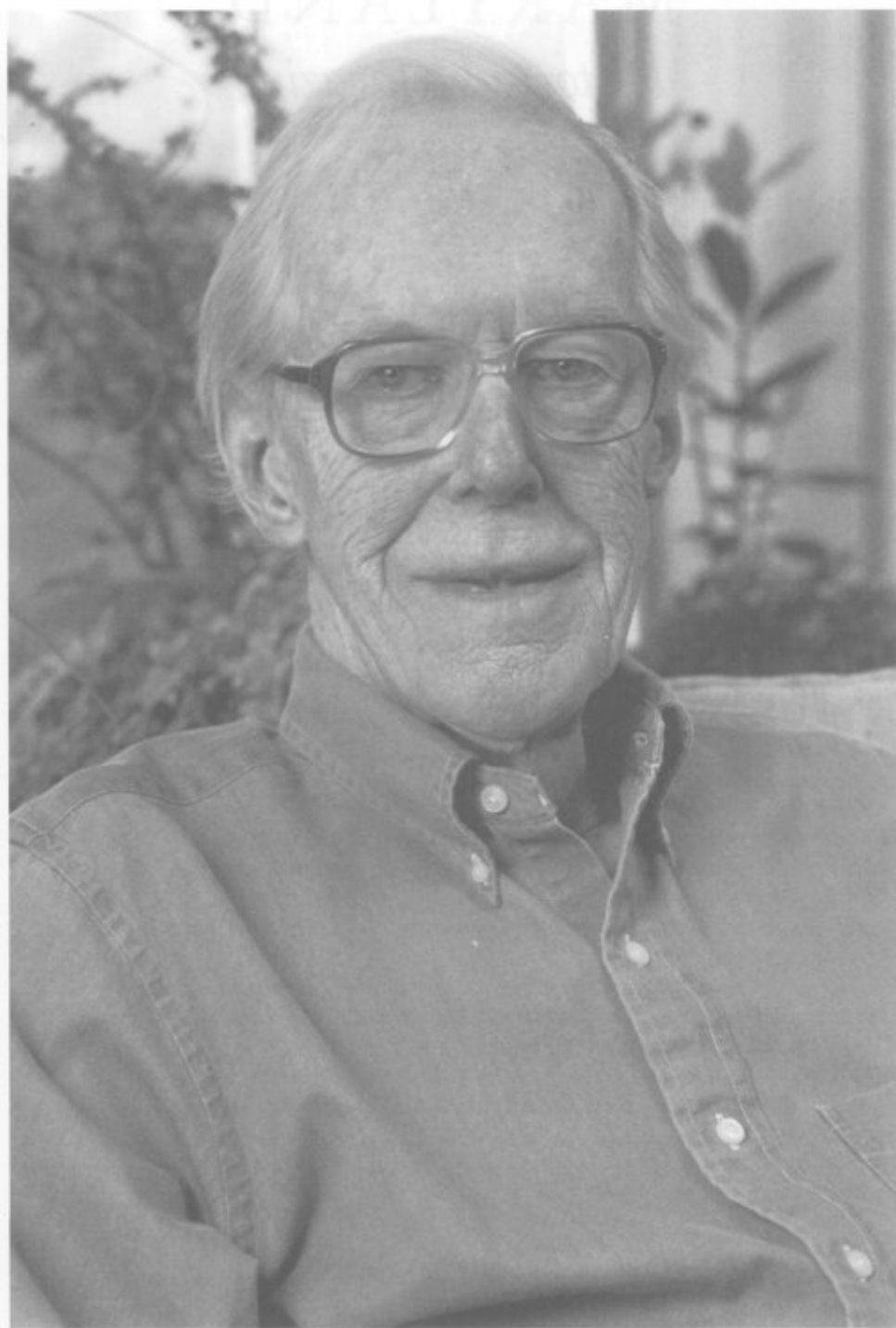
MARYLAND

Historical Magazine

VOLUME 98, 3 (FALL 2003)

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John Higham (1920–2003)

On July 26, 2003, one of the most influential American historians of the last half of the twentieth century, John Higham, died in the North Baltimore apartment he shared with his wife of fifty-five years, Dr. Eileen Moss Higham, a clinical psychologist. He was eighty-two years old. Although he retired from the Johns Hopkins University in 1989, he remained an active scholar up to the evening before his death.

Born in Jamaica, New York, in 1920, Higham graduated from Hopkins (where he was something of a student activist) in 1941, returning as John Martin Vincent Professor of History thirty years later.

After receiving his bachelor's degree, Higham served in World War II in the Historical Division of the 12th Army Air Force in Italy. Upon his discharge in 1945 he spent a year as assistant editor of *American Mercury*, the iconoclastic journal founded twenty years earlier by Baltimore's H. L. Mencken. From there he moved to the University of Wisconsin, Madison, receiving a doctorate in history in 1949. Before his return to Hopkins in 1971 he held faculty positions at UCLA, Rutgers, Columbia, and the University of Michigan, where he was Moses Coit Tyler University Professor of History and served as Chair of the Program in American Culture.

Almost a half century after its publication, Higham's first book, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925* (1955), remains the most authoritative work on anti-immigrant movements. It, and his subsequent works on ethnicity, such as *Send These to Me: Jews and Other Immigrants in Urban America* (1975), established him as a leader in the field, a position acknowledged by his election as president of the Immigration History Society in 1979, an organization that honored him with a Lifetime Achievement award in 2002, the same year he received a similar award from the American Historical Association. Earlier he served as president of a third major historical society, the Organization of American Historians.

Uncommonly broad in his interests, Higham also helped shape two other fields of history. His *History: Professional Scholarship in America* (1983) and earlier essay, "Beyond Consensus" (1962) enabled three generations of American historians to understand more clearly the origins and implications of their own work. A conference he and Paul Conkin organized, and the book of essays that resulted from it, *New Directions in American Intellectual History* (1979), anticipated and explained important transformations in intellectual history. Through his many lectures abroad, and especially his term at Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris in 1981–82, Higham helped encourage greater understanding of American history elsewhere in the world.

Coming of age during the Great Depression, serving in World War II, and beginning his career during the Cold War, Higham had seen the best and the worst of times. Yet this scholar of nativism—one of the ugliest aspects of American culture—remained optimistic about his nation and its future. Running through his rich and varied career was a deep commitment to a vision of America as it ought to be: generous, diverse, and cosmopolitan, respectful of differences yet committed to a common, humane purpose—a nation that could live up to its own best principles. For him, writing history was not merely a scholarly exercise, it was an act of moral engagement.

A long-time resident of the Tuscany-Canterbury neighborhood in Baltimore, he was a member of the Episcopal Cathedral of the Incarnation. In addition to his wife, he is survived by two daughters, Constance Vidor of New York City, and Margaret Higham of Winchester, Virginia; two sons, Daniel Higham of Baltimore and Jay Higham of Sandy Hook, Connecticut; and seven grandchildren. He will also be deeply missed by the many students, friends, and colleagues who cherished the thoughtful, judicious, sometime oracular, manner in which he held them—and himself—to the highest possible standards of intellectual honesty.

Ronald G. Walters

The Johns Hopkins University

Editor's Notebook

In the autumn of 1970 I had the great good fortune to enter the Johns Hopkins University. Unlike most who enter the graduate school at Homewood, I had little more than a love of my chosen discipline and a vague idea of what part of it I wanted to investigate. In the coming years I wrestled with that indecision, glad mostly to be out of the army and among people who also loved history, and dazzled by the wit, style, and insight of those who taught it.

Doubtless others who shared the experiences of those wonderful years at Hopkins will remember John Higham as a brilliant historian. I shall always remember him as a master of economy, who could say more in fewer words than anyone I have known before or since. His quick, dry wit and trenchant comments delivered in a rich baritone punctuated countless seminars, halted runaway discussions, and made all present stop and rethink the issue at hand. In recent years he has been a prominent contributor to the Publications Committee of the Maryland Historical Society, deciding what books we should undertake and always keeping that body focused.

One of the brightest lights has quietly left the constellation around us, but not our collective memory. His teaching lives on in those who honor him by imitation—by striving to think as originally and as clearly, and to write as eloquently, as he did. John, we will miss you.

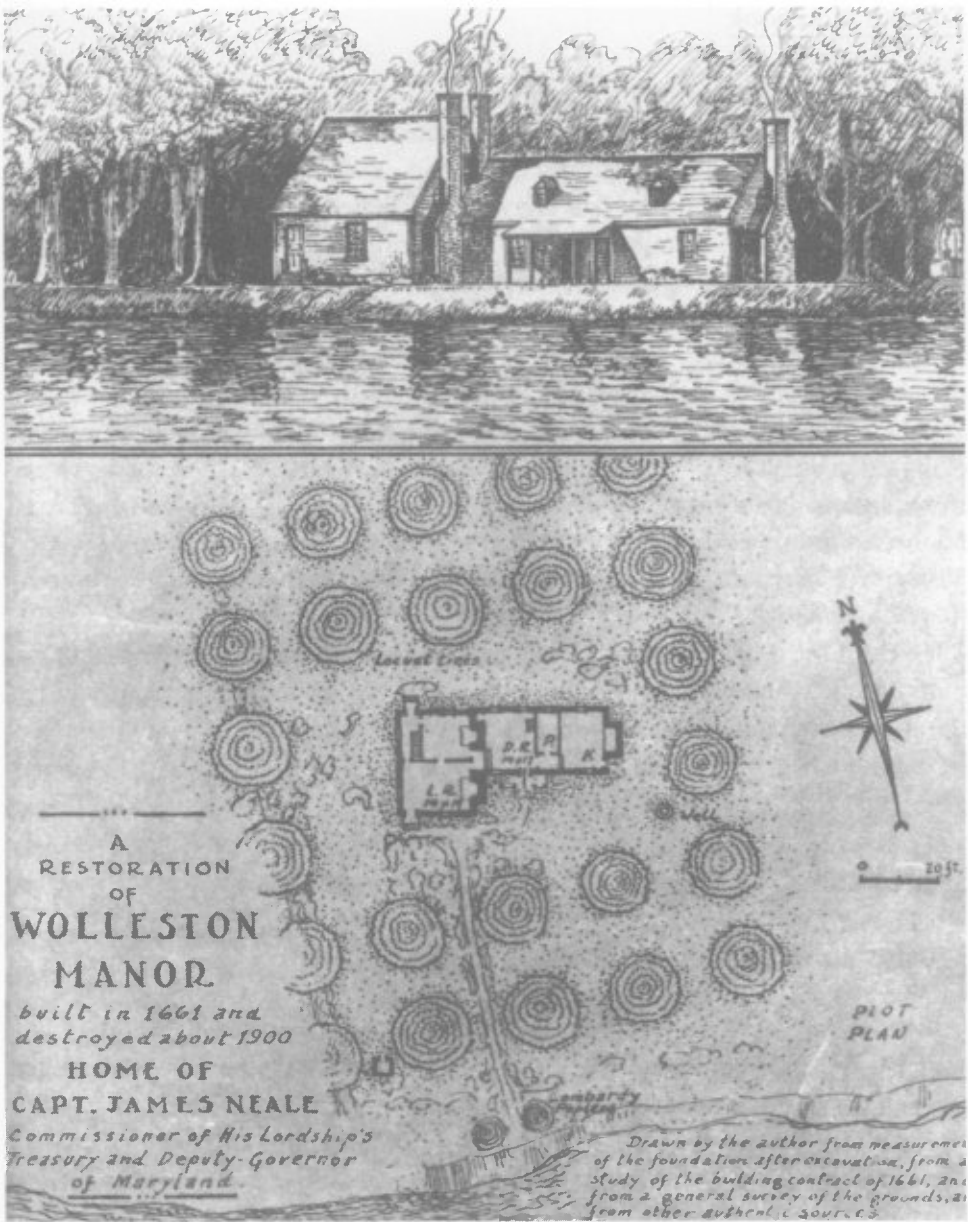
R.I.C.

Cover

“Jones Falls below Baltimore Street,” 1868

A violent thunderstorm struck Baltimore in the early morning hours of July 24, 1868. Flood waters crested high above the banks of the Jones Falls and washed away all but one of the bridges that spanned the waterway. A tumbling wall of water rushed down Baltimore Street, rose to the tops of lampposts and filled more than two thousand cellars to their ceilings. One witness described the deluge “as if a lake had fallen, in mass, upon us.” The storm poured an estimated seven inches of rain in Baltimore City and parts of the surrounding counties in less than twenty-four hours. In its aftermath the city council heard demands for compensation from mill owners and renewal plans for the flood district that included straightening the falls and raising bridges. In this photograph, taken soon after the storm, city residents assess the damage. Neighborhood children, apparently more curious than shocked, explore the wreckage. (*Maryland Historical Society.*)

P.D.A.



Wollestone Manor, home of the Neale family, 1661–1904. James Neale emigrated to the Maryland colony c.1636–37 and received, in exchange for his financial investment, loyalty, and service to the proprietor, two thousand acres of valuable riverfront property. In 1934 archaeologist Henry Chandlee Forman and his assistants excavated the foundation of the house and prepared this sketch of the manor site. (Henry Chandlee Forman, *Early Manor Houses and Plantation Houses of Maryland* [Easton, Md: The author, 1934].)

“James Neale . . . hath Adventured Himself into our Province of Maryland”

FRANCIS NEALE SMITH

In Charles County, Maryland, in the median of U.S. Route 301, at State Route 257, just north of the Governor Harry W. Nice Memorial Bridge at the Potomac River, a Maryland State historical marker directs passers-by to “Wolleston Manor . . . (2000 acres with Court Leet and Court Baron) patented in 1642 to Captain James Neale, Member of the Council and Commissioner of His Lordship’s Treasury 1643. House built 1661 (since destroyed).”¹

Captain James Neale was born in England in 1615, the only child of Raphael Neale of Drury Lane, London, and Wollaston, Northamptonshire, and his wife Jane Forman.² He is mentioned more than one hundred times in the *Archives of Maryland* and has been characterized in more than two dozen books about early Maryland, family histories, genealogies, and newspapers—yet there remains an enigmatic aspect to the man. Some of what has been written about him and his wife is laced with family tradition, undocumented, and unsupported. This study is an effort to sift through these many accounts and identify what can be documented as factual, what is not documented but possible, and what is conjecture. At the same time, this is a story of James Neale, his family, and the people with whom he associated or had contact, as participants in historical events of the seventeenth century.

James Neale, about seventeen years old at the time of Maryland’s founding, was not among the first settlers. He arrived in 1636 or 1637, at about age twenty-one.³ At the port city and provincial capital, St. Mary’s City, Neale found wooden clapboard houses and outbuildings on lots that averaged a hundred acres or more, and a water-powered grist mill.⁴ He established himself as a trader. In his first known activity, in June 1638, James Neale was sent by Jerome Hawley, one of the colony’s commissioners, as his agent, to barter with the Indians. “Neale, in command of the [vessel] St. Nicholas, shipped on board her before sailing several pieces of trading cloth, six dozen of knives, three dozen of scissors, six bunches of white beads, ten bunches of bigger white beads, two bunches of purple beads, a grosse of bells, twenty four hoes and the same number of axes.”⁵

Lord Baltimore called the early Maryland settlers “Adventurers” and in his

Neale Smith, a graduate of Loyola College in Maryland, is a retired naval officer and former Chief of Naval Reserve.



Cecil Calvert carried forward his father's plans for a colony in which wealthy English Catholics could find religious refuge, yield financial profits, and establish an aristocratic society similar to the one they had left behind. (Maryland Historical Society.)

1636 Conditions of Plantation set forth the qualifications for future land grants. He had already given the largest grants to the first colonists. The adventurers in the Ark and Dove expedition had received two thousand acres for every five men they brought into the colony. Those adventurers who came into the colony in the years 1634 and 1635 had to import ten men to receive the same amount of land—the standard established in his lordship's Conditions.⁶

In June 1641, James Neale requested and received a warrant for one thousand acres of land due him for having transported himself and five servants into the Province "since 1635."⁷ Inexplicably he assigned that warrant to another settler, Thomas Hebdon, raising the question of why he would disclaim his right to the thousand acres. The answer appears to be in another request he made to Lord Baltimore, "James Neale Gent demandeth 2000 acres of Land by Special warrant from his Lordp." Cecil Calvert directed his brother Leonard, governor of Maryland, to grant "James Neale Gent" two thousand acres "to be created into a Manor, with Such and the like liberties priviledges and immunities as are usually Granted to other Adventurors and undertakers."⁸ In a second letter, three months later, Cecil Calvert wrote that:

Cecilius &c for and in Consideration that James Neale Gent hath adventured himself in person into our Province of Maryland, and that he and his heirs may be the better enabled to doe us and our heirs good and acceptable Service within Our Said Province have according to the tenor of our Letters under our hand and Seal dated at London 25th July 1641 Given and Granted &c Saving to us &c To have and to hold to him his heirs and assignes forever To be holden of our Honour of S^t Maries &c Yeilding therefore forty Shillings in money or Commodities To be called Wolleston Manor with Court Leet and Court Baron &c Given 31th Octob 1642.⁹

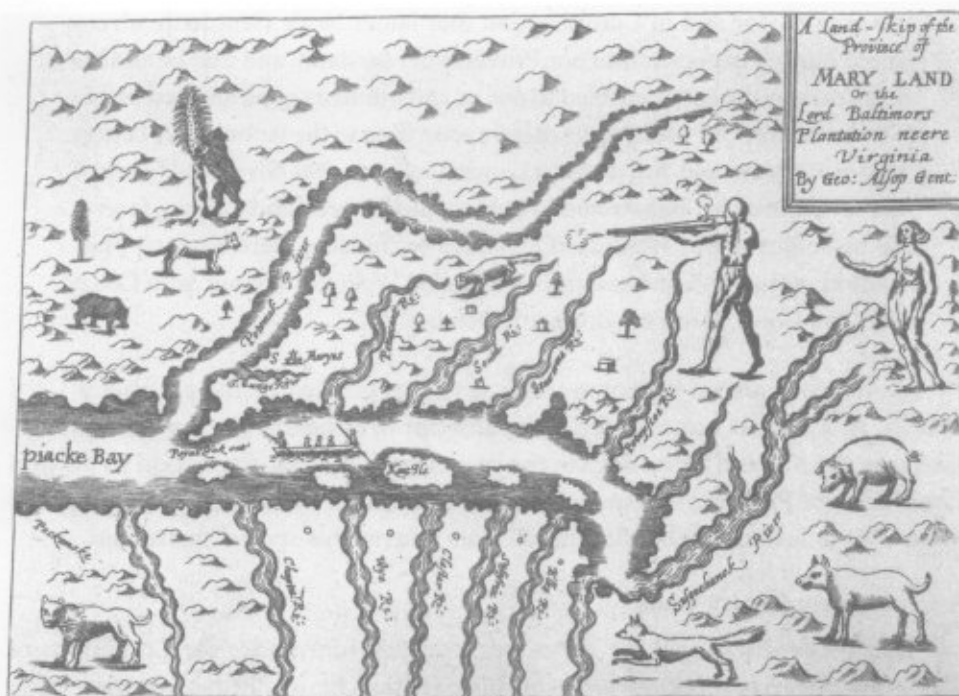
Neale, who entered the colony after 1635, was granted by the proprietor Cecil Calvert, in a special warrant, the same amount of property as those first adventurers on the *Ark* and *Dove*, despite the proprietor's specific distinction in his 1636 Conditions of Plantation between the first adventurers who arrived in 1634, and those who followed.¹⁰ Why did James Neale receive this special treatment?

A Church on Drury Lane

That Neale disclaimed the thousand acres due him under the Conditions of Plantation suggests foreknowledge on his part that he would receive something

Conceptualized view of St. Mary's City, the first Maryland settlement. It is here that James Neale worked as an official of the colonial government. (Maryland State Archives.)





Terra Maria, Lord Baltimore's colony, as it appears on George Alsop's 1666 map, "A landskip of the Lord Baltimore's Plantation Neere Virginia." Neale's estate was north of St. Mary's City, near the sharp curve in the Potomac River. (Maryland Historical Society.)

better. It is possible that Lord Baltimore, several years earlier, had made a commitment to Neale for land rights similar to those granted to the first settlers. Certainly Neale had met with Cecil Calvert prior to leaving for the new colony. They would have discussed the financing required to transport him and five indentured servants, land rights and opportunities available in the province, freedom from English penal laws against Catholics, and many other issues. But other adventurers had gone through that same process and not received a special warrant. This raises the question of whether there was more to the Calvert-Neale friendship than the negotiations of settlement. Might they have been friends or have had a family friendship prior to 1633? Although much has subsequently been written about James Neale's service to the royal Stuarts, nothing has been written about his connection with Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore. There is nothing in published portions of the Calvert papers or in the only biography I have found of Cecil Calvert.¹¹

A clue may lie in James Neale's last will and testament, in which he distributed his estate to family members, three other individuals, and one institution—a Protestant church in England, St. Giles parish near London, to which he gave "to the poor of St. Giles parish . . . five pounds to bee sent to Mr. Henry Warren to bee

distributed as hee shall see fit."¹² This is probably St. Giles-in-the-Fields through which Drury Lane passes and the likely area of James Neale's residence with his parents in London before going to Maryland, his father having been Raphael Neale of Drury Lane in London (and Wollaston).¹³

But why would James Neale, a Catholic, leave money to a Protestant parish of the Church of England? The answer is that in seventeenth-century England the Penal Laws prohibited Catholic Churches. Without their own priests and churches, Catholics were perforce parishioners of their local Anglican churches. "The only legal marriages were in Church of England parish churches, so Roman Catholics were normally married in their parish churches, and the only places to be buried were parish churchyards. Roman Catholics did also play some part in parochial life."¹⁴ St. Giles may well have been the local parish church of Raphael and Jane Neale and their son James, who years later remembered the poor of the parish in his will.¹⁵

The Catholic minority in London tended to concentrate in the area of Drury Lane and St. Giles, and one of those Catholics, also a parishioner of St. Giles, was Cecil Calvert, proprietor of the Province of Maryland.¹⁶ It is likely that there in London Neale learned first hand of the new Lord Proprietor's plan to establish the Maryland province. It was just the sort of prospect to interest an ambitious young man frustrated by the political and religious intrigues and restrictions in England.¹⁷ Thus, it was probably in St. Giles Parish near London, now St. Giles-in-the-Fields, on High Street near Drury Lane, in London's theater district, that a friendship and allegiance developed between Cecil Calvert and fellow parishioner James Neale, a relationship that resulted in Neale becoming one of Calvert's adventurers.¹⁸ It is entirely possible that Neale wanted to be among the first settlers on the *Ark* and *Dove* but his young age delayed him several years, until he was about twenty-one. That might also explain why Calvert gave him two thousand acres in 1642 under terms granted to the first settlers.

Lord Baltimore's second letter—"that he [James Neale] and his heirs may be better enabled to doe us and our heirs good and acceptable Service within Our Said Province"—also bolsters this contention. It is an expression of confidence and suggests that Calvert knew James Neale very well in England, that he was the sort of man Calvert wanted in his colony, and one for whom he had great expectations. Subsequent events, including the fact that Calvert appointed Neale to numerous positions of trust and responsibility, support this theory.

A Man of Stature

Neale's manor was along the Potomac River about twenty-five miles from St. Mary's City, on the western bank of the Wicomico River at its mouth.¹⁹ He probably first built a small structure for himself and the servants he had brought from England. The manor house would not be built for another twenty years. Though

remote from the settlement, Neale's location on the water was important. With no road system, planters depended upon water-borne forms of transportation as tobacco became the currency of the province.

In September 1642, James Neale was reported to be out of the province. This may have been when Governor Calvert sent him to Boston with two pinnaces to buy mares and sheep. The mission was not successful, as one of the vessels was so rotten that it had to be abandoned, and the animals could not be purchased because the civil war in England had rendered his money drafts on Lord Baltimore not negotiable.²⁰

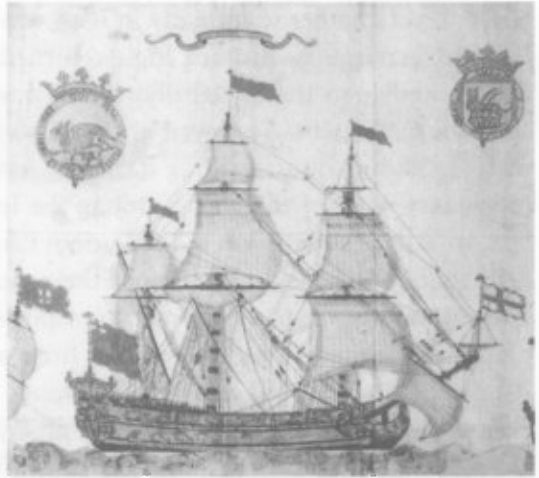
Later that fall, James Neale and landowner Thomas Gerard were given warrants against marauding Indians. Licenses were required for Indians to carry guns, and Neale had granted one to "an Indian called Capt Browns to carry a gonne for the vse of James Neale Esq. &c." Nevertheless, Maryland settlers regarded the Indians with suspicion. Licensing was extended to include delivering, upon any pretext, gunpowder or shot to any Indian. Consequently, Neale and Gerard were authorized "at any time or times as you shall meet with any Indians killing yo^r cattell, or otherwise trespassing vpon you in any your lands . . . to vse any other force to chastice them & putt them off your lands as you shall think fitt to deterre them from attempting the like againe." If the Indians resisted or posed a threat, they were authorized to "vse any further force or violence as you shall think fitt for the repelling of the force & yo^r owne safties, yea althoughe it be the killing any of them if it shalbe necessary." Every man in the colony capable of bearing arms was considered to be in the militia. On April 18, 1643, the council directed James Neale to:

take view of all the severall armes & ammunition in every house within St. Clements hundred, & to inquire by oath of all men within the hundred as he shall think fitt, what quantities of powder & shott is in each severall house, & to return the number of psons in every house able to beare armes, & the number & quantity of gonnnes fixed or vnfixed the store of powder & shott, & the sorts of the shott; and the number of swords . . . & to presse for the publique vse to the quantity of 10 powder, where he sees it may be spared by this view.²¹

Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore and Lord Proprietor of Maryland, remained in England, entrusting the governing and management of the colony to his brother Leonard, who had full executive powers in both peace and war. A council, appointed by Lord Baltimore, assisted the governor in protecting his interests. They advised the governor and constituted the provincial assembly and court.

James Neale was appointed to the council. On April 15, 1643, Cecil wrote a letter addressing the "trusty and welbeloved Colonell ffrancis Trafford Esq[.] John

Puritan Richard Ingle arrived aboard the *Reformation* in 1643. His depredations against the Catholic colonists became known as the "plundering time." (Maryland Historical Society.)



Lewger Esq[.], William Blount Esq[.], Giles Brent Esq, John Langford Esq[.], and James Neale Esq" and noting that "we reposing especiall trust & confidence in yo^r wisdomes diligence & experience, have assigned & appointed you iointly & every of you severally to be of o^r Privie Counsell within o^r said Province of maryland &c. vt supra in Commission of Counsell." Six months later, Lord Baltimore selected Neale for an additional position as one of five commissioners of the treasury. These commissioners were charged with managing all of the proprietor's live-stock, products, and all other goods and chattel, rents, fines, confiscations, subsidies, tribute, or other gifts from the Indians, and all other profits and emoluments belonging to him within the Province of Maryland.²²

By this time, Lord Baltimore's settlement had grown from St. Mary's City into St. Mary's County. Nearly four hundred persons had spread over several smaller jurisdictions or hundreds. Sixteen manors accounted for 80 percent of the surveyed land. Four-fifths of the freemen had not claimed land. Most worked as tenant farmers or wage laborers.²³ In the fall of 1643 the civil and religious unrest in England reached Maryland in the form of Richard Ingle, the fiery captain of the *Reformation* and an outspoken supporter of Parliament against Charles I. When he declared "the king was no king" he was arrested for treason and held at the order of acting governor Giles Brent. Several of Brent's associates, including Neale, urged that Ingle be permitted to return to his ship in the face of charges that probably would not hold up in court, but when Ingle and the others did return to the *Reformation*, the ship's crew overpowered Brent's guards and put them ashore. Ingle returned to England, and those who had argued on his behalf, including Neale, were suspended from the council and called with the sheriff before the Provincial Court to answer for the escape. Neale and the sheriff were both cleared and he regained his council seat. In September 1644, Lord Baltimore appointed

Neale to yet another term. Early in 1645, while Governor Calvert was on a working visit in Virginia, Richard Ingle returned to St. Mary's with a vengeance. In what is known as Ingle's Rebellion, with a well-armed force he burned and ravaged the settlement, destroyed government records and Lord Baltimore's great seal. He and a council calling itself the Assembly of Protestants broke up the missionary work of the Jesuits among the Indians and demanded that colonists take an oath of submission to the Puritan Parliament. "Those who refused—Protestants and Catholics alike—found their estates eagerly set upon and pillaged." Two Jesuits were put in irons and transported to England, the others went into hiding in Virginia never to be heard from again. Nearly three hundred settlers left, leaving only about a hundred behind. Many took refuge in Virginia. The period came to be referred to as "the plundering time." Late in 1646, Governor Leonard Calvert returned with a force of Virginians and fugitive Marylanders, retook the colony, and reestablished the proprietary government.²⁴

There is reason to believe that James Neale was among those who fled from Maryland in early 1645 to escape from Ingle. He had recently married Ann (Anna or Anne) Maria Gill, the daughter of Benjamin Gill and Mary Mainwaring, Catholics, who had left England for the Province of Maryland in 1642. Neale is said to have left "upon certain occasions of his own," and it is unlikely that he would have taken Ingle's Oath of Submission to Parliament, nor is it likely that he would have submitted to a government that had disclaimed Lord Baltimore's proprietary rights. The Neales went to Spain or Portugal where on March 27, 1647, their daughter Henrietta Maria was born. Three other children, James, Dorothy, and Anthony followed. During his dozen or so years on the Iberian Peninsula, Neale "was engaged in commerce, and was also employed in various affairs by the King and the Duke of York." His activities during those years away from Maryland have been broadly embellished. Writers inflated his reputation by claiming that, a royalist, he "maintained an enviable position at the court of Charles I," that he fought in England for Charles I, and that "Neale and his wife were prime favorites of English Royalty."²⁵ Could James Neale have served in the court of Charles I or in his army?²⁶

In 1645, about the time Neale left Maryland, the civil war had been raging in England for three years between the Parliamentary army that soon gained control of central England, including London, and the Royalist army of the Anglican King Charles I that controlled the northern and western parts of the country. Queen Henrietta Maria had escaped to France. Although economic and constitutional issues were involved, the conflict was essentially religious.

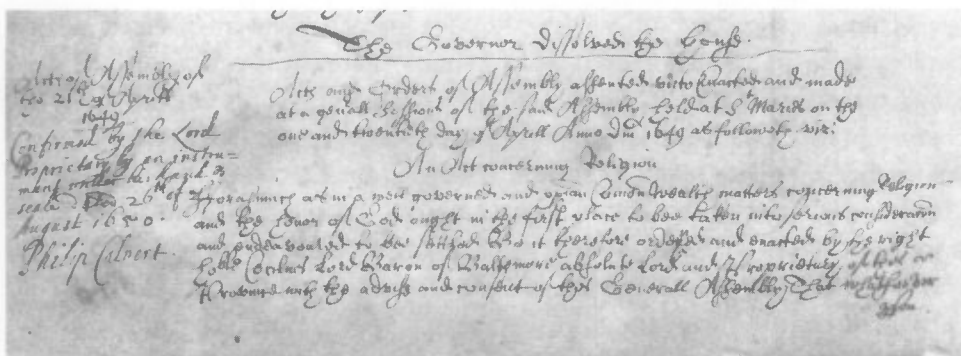
In the summer of 1645, the Parliamentarians defeated the king's forces at the battle of Naseby. In May 1646, the Parliamentary army captured Oxford. To avoid capture, Charles I traveled north and surrendered himself to his former enemies the Scots, who made him a virtual prisoner with no personal attendants. Two

years later in a short second civil war, Royalist forces again were defeated, and on January 30, 1649, Charles I, accused of being a traitor, was beheaded. The dead king's successor, Charles II, escaped from England and went into exile across the channel in the Low Countries. The new king's brother James, Duke of York, joined his mother Henrietta Maria in France. Following the execution of Charles I, England under the Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell was plunged "into a tyranny at once more irresistible and more petty than any seen before or since."²⁷ In 1658, Cromwell died. Two years later the English Crown was restored under Charles II.

Although it is possible that in 1645–46 James Neale might have been in the court of King Charles I, or in his army, it is unlikely. His family, the Neales of Wollaston, were royalists and supporters of the Crown, and two of his cousins were active in the Civil War on the king's side. William Neale served as a scout master general in the king's army in 1642–43 and was created a baronet in 1646. His brother, Edmund, fought the Roundheads at Wollaston in December 1642.²⁸ Nevertheless, the only evidence of James Neale's service to English royalty is a statement he made twenty years later. A petition he presented to the governor of Maryland in 1666 gave him ample opportunity to claim service in the court or army of Charles I, but instead he wrote, "Whereas your Petitioner hath lived divers yeares in Spain and Portugall following the trade of Marchandize and was there imployed by his Majesty of great Brittain and his Royall highnesse the Duke of York in Severell Emergent Affaires. . . ." ²⁹ This statement limits his royal service to commercial activity on certain occasions while he was in Spain or Portugal, and says nothing about being in the court of Charles I, or in his army. Also his reference to "his Majesty" and "the Duke of York" with no mention of a Prince of Wales, indicates he was referring to Charles II and James, not to Charles I and his successor, Charles II. Thus, Neale's royal service would have been after the death of Charles I and during those years when Charles II and the Duke of York were in exile on the continent.

While James and Ann Neale were in Spain or Portugal, Ann's father, Benjamin Gill, served as their attorney and representative in Maryland. After Benjamin Gill's death in 1654, Robert Cole, a Gill relative in Maryland, claimed the estate as next of kin.³⁰ News of death and the claim on his estate did not reach James Neale until four years later, at which time he responded with a letter to William Bretton in Maryland.³¹

The letter, dated August 2, 1658, provides a good deal of information on the Neales and their affairs. Neale first declared that he was "heartily sorry" to learn of Gill's death. He then asked for Bretton's assistance in helping him "recouer what may bee of his estate, as allso my Land, & recouer satisfaction of Nathaneil Pope for the six fowling peices, & the Cattle & Servants I left wth him, & ioyne alltogether & preserue it in the best mann^r th^t may bee, for my use, or the use of my Wife & Children & lett not any thing be sould or deminished till further Order from mee."



The Maryland General Assembly passed this Act Concerning Religion in 1649. The law protected Puritans, as well as Catholics, during the English Civil War and acknowledged the informal free exercise of Christian religions. (Maryland State Archives.)

He asked Bretton to “please to aduise mee by all opportunities what is done in the business. My intent is to come ouer to yo^u soe soone as I heare from yo^u how business stands.” As for Robert Cole, Neale had learned that he “layd some claime to my ffathers & my Estate, w^{ch} I conceiue hee did, supposing I & my Wife had bene dead. But god be praysed wee are both aliue, & and in health, & haue Three Children lyuing: Soe hee now may excuse the clayming any thing & deliuer all ouer to yo^u for my use.” He urged Bretton “not to fayle, but to use all dilligence in this business.” Neale thus identified Ann Gill Neale as the rightful heiress of her father’s estate, voiding Robert (Robin) Cole’s claim. Persuaded by the letter of attorney, signed by James Neale and witnesses, that accompanied this missive, the Provincial Court admitted Bretton as James Neale’s attorney. Neale indicated his intent to return to Maryland, as soon as he heard “how business stands” and related that his family had grown to three children, identified in the accompanying letter as Ann (probably another name for Henrietta Maria), James, and Dorothy. Son Anthony Neale would be born after the letter was written but while his mother was still in Spain or Portugal.³²

The long delay in learning of Benjamin Gill’s death is indicative of the difficulty in communicating between the English colonies and countries at war with or not aligned with England. Neale asked Bretton to send him letters in care of two men in London and two in Amsterdam, stating “these merchants will send your letters to me.” Unfortunately, Neale did not say where he was when he wrote the letters, only that he was seventy leagues (about 210 statute miles) from his home at that time.

During the years that Neale and his family resided in Europe, the Maryland colony felt the effects of England’s civic chaos and Puritan rule. In 1647, two years after the Ingle Rebellion, Governor Leonard Calvert died suddenly. Thomas Green, a Catholic planter, was his temporary successor until Lord Baltimore named

as governor William Stone, a Virginian and a Protestant. Stone offered asylum to a group of Puritans persecuted by the Anglicans in Virginia, confirming Lord Baltimore's idea of tolerance and helping to safeguard his province while Puritans ruled in England. The assembly passed an act of religious toleration, giving assurances to the Puritans while also protecting the Catholics.

In 1650 about three hundred Puritans accepted Stone's offer of sanctuary and settled on the Severn River and named their town Providence (located across the river from present-day Annapolis), but the next year they refused to send representatives to the colonial government in St. Mary's City. In 1652, Governor Stone, concerned that his continuance in office could lead to bloodshed, concluded that his best course was to resign. Puritans soon took over the government, disfranchised Catholics, and rejected religious toleration. Rebuked by Baltimore for giving up the government without a struggle, Governor Stone with a force of 130 attacked the Puritans on the Severn River, but the attack failed. About fifty of his Marylanders were killed or wounded and the rest made prisoners. Three were executed. The Protestants took reprisals against those involved in the attempt to regain the colony for Lord Baltimore, and the Jesuits were again expelled.³³

In England, Lord Baltimore appealed to Cromwell, who referred the matter to the Lords of Trade. They found in favor of Baltimore and restored his proprietary rights. Baltimore made no attempt at retaliation but saw to it that amnesty was granted to the Puritans. Those who refused to take the oath of fidelity to him were allowed to leave Maryland. In July 1656, Baltimore appointed Josias Fendall governor and sent his brother, Philip Calvert, to serve as a councilor and as Secretary of the Province.³⁴

When James Neale returned to the Province of Maryland in 1659 it was a different place from that which he had left more than a decade before. The turmoil of the English Civil War, high food prices, and a shortage of jobs led many to leave for the colonies. In the decade following the "plundering time," Maryland's population had grown from a few hundred to 2,500. Neale's Wolleston Manor, was now in Charles County, one of three new counties, including Anne Arundel and Patuxent (later Calvert), that had been formed in his absence. Governor Leonard Calvert had been dead for twelve years, membership of the council had changed, and there was a new Lower House in the Assembly. James Neale was virtually a stranger. One thing remained the same, Maryland was still a proprietary colony and His Lordship, Cecil, second Lord Baltimore, was still the proprietor. That was the situation when a letter from Lord Baltimore was read at a meeting of the council on March 7, 1659, in the presence of the governor.

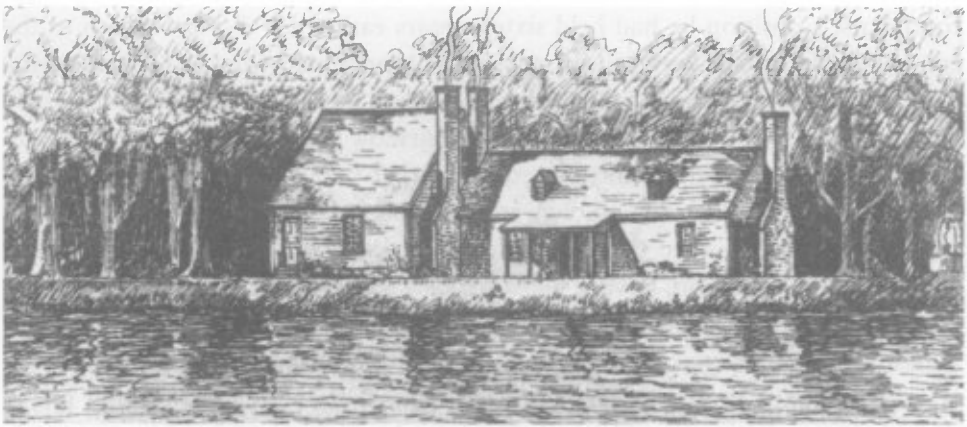
Whereas Captaine James Neale hath formerly beene an Inhabitant in Maryland, But vpon certaine occasions of his owne hath bene absent some yeares from thence, and is now desirous to retourne thither againe with his family

there to reside Knowe yee that Wee doe hereby giue him free liberty there to inhabitt and to possess any lands as he hath right vnto or Can lawfully Clayme there paying the Rents and arreares of Rent due to us for the same. And Moreover Wee doe hereby giue him free liberty to enter into any of our Ports there, and there freely to trade by himselfe or his Agent or Agents with any ship or ships which hee may build or procure for Tradeing in those parts. Provided that at his or their arrivall there hee or they repaire to yow our said Lieutenant, and there Record his said Ship or Ships as Vessells belonging to that Province. And that hee the said Captaine James Neale or his Agent or Attorney pay such Duties as others vsually pay for soe tradeing there And provided also that hee or his Agents do not trade with any Indian or Indians in or through our said Province without license first obtained for the same from yow our said Lieutenant vpon such tearmes and conditions as others pay and performe for such tradeing, Hereby willing and requiring yow our said Lieutenant and Councill and all other our Officers Millitary, or Civill within our said Province well and truly to obserue and obey this our warrant and Command in admitting and protecting the said James Neale or his lawfull Agent or Agents in any lawfull Act or thing which they or any of them shall doe in pursuance of the premisses contained in this our warrant.³⁵

What may appear to be simply a letter reintroducing a prior resident and former colonial leader was in fact a detailed set of instructions. The early provincial leadership of Maryland, with whom James Neale had served fifteen years, was gone. Neale probably requested that Lord Baltimore send this letter, providing credentials for him to reestablish himself in Maryland and reclaim his Wolleston Manor. Lord Baltimore went further, stating that it was his "warrant and Command" to the governor and provincial leadership to admit, protect, and assure all rights to James Neale. For the first time Baltimore addressed him as "Captain."³⁶

The next year Calvert again showed his high regard for Neale and sent him to Amsterdam as his agent to protest against Dutch settlement in Delaware Bay.³⁷ The Dutch refused to withdraw and on July 20, 1660, Lord Baltimore commissioned his "Trusty and welbeloved Captaine James Neale" to form an expedition in Maryland, and as "Commander in chiefe" expel the Dutch from Delaware Bay. When informed of the proprietor's intentions, his councilors in Maryland voiced concerns that the settlements were not within provincial boundaries and such action might precipitate war with Holland. They advised His Lordship against the expedition and he cancelled the trip.³⁸

While Neale was in Europe assisting Lord Baltimore on the Dutch issue, in Maryland, Cecil Calvert was betrayed by Governor Fendall, who in the March 1659/60 session surrendered his commission from Lord Baltimore and accepted a new one from the assembly. Fendall then forbade colonists from acknowledging



Neale's descendants lived in the manor house for two and a half centuries.

any authority that did not come directly from the assembly or the king, in effect renouncing the charter and rights of the proprietor. Baltimore dismissed Fendall as soon as he heard the news, appointed Philip Calvert in his stead, and the plot quickly collapsed. Baltimore also commissioned six loyal deputy governors in the event of Philip's death. Among them was James Neale.³⁹

A Manor House on the River

On July 22, 1661, Captain James Neale contracted with Francis West, to build on his plantation at Wollestone Manor, a house:

forty foote long & twenty five foote wide framed worke to bee nine foote between ye groundsill & Wall plate & and all ye groundsills to bee of Locust wood ye lower part to bee divided into five Roomes wth two chimnies below & one small chimnye above And build on to it a porch ten foote long & eight foote wide ye Loft to bee layed wth sawed wood And to build two Dormer windowes above & other window at ye end of ye left And to point all Windowes & Dorees below Stayres & all Completely finished except ye covering & weather boarding for & in consideration whereof I ye sayd James Neale doe oblige myself to furnish ye said francis West Meate Drinke & Lodging dureing ye time of ye building ye House & to allow him two servants namely my boy John ye Dutchman & ye other John which I have hired by Cap'n ffenall to doe all such works.

The contract called for payment to West of 3,500 pounds of tobacco, one half to be paid "at or before ye feast of ye Nativitie of our Lord next ensueing And ye other halfe at ye finishing of ye worke."⁴⁰

On October 12, 1661, Neale was once again sworn in as one of five provincial

councilors, a position he had held sixteen years earlier. He did not return to the council the following year, but in 1665–66 he represented Charles County in the lower house of the Assembly. During that session, Neale petitioned the assembly for naturalization of his four children, Henrietta Maria, James, Dorothy, and Anthony. The petition specifically requested that they have all rights of native-born Marylanders, the right to own, inherit, and pass on property to heirs. The petition was passed on to the council for approval.⁴¹ A fifth child, Jane, was not included in the petition, having been born in Maryland after their return.⁴² In 1681, Neale deeded to his elder son James, one half of Wolleston Manor with full manorial rights, in consideration of his pending marriage to Elizabeth Calvert, granddaughter of Leonard Calvert. The following year he made a deed of gift of the remaining property to his second son Anthony, in consideration of his betrothal to Elizabeth Roswell.⁴³

Neale's last recorded official appointment was in 1683 when he was named one of the commissioners charged with laying out ports and towns in Charles County.⁴⁴ He died at age sixty-nine in 1684. His will, dated November 27, 1683, probated on March 29, 1684, in Charles County, Maryland, confirmed the prior land gifts to sons James and Anthony, and distributed the rest of his estate. His wife, Ann Maria Gill Neale, died in 1698.⁴⁵

James Neale was among the more active and important of Maryland's first settlers, but his role previously has not been entirely clear. This study has attempted to confirm some of the tales told about him, and it has provided grounds to dismiss others. Perhaps, as a result, James Neale's place in Maryland history is a bit less enigmatic.

NOTES

1. The arrow on the sign points toward the site of Wolleston Manor, nine miles away. Court Leet and Court Baron carried over from the English feudal system in which the Lord of the Manor had limited legal jurisdiction over those who resided on his estate. Court Leet was a criminal court for punishment of small offenses and Court Baron mediated suits between parties.
2. "Visitation of Bedfordshire," *Harleian Society Publications*, 19: 33–43.
3. Christopher Johnston, "Neale Family of Charles County," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 7 (1912): 201–2.
4. For an overview of Maryland's founding and a general description of colonial frontier life, see Robert J. Brugger, *Maryland A Middle Temperament, 1634–1980* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 3–40.
5. Raphael Semmes, *Captains and Mariners of Early Maryland* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1937), 65–66. Lord Baltimore addressed relations with the Indians in his instructions to the original settlers. Aware of the native uprising in Virginia in 1622–23, in which three hundred colonists were killed, His Lordship wished not to fight the Indians but to have the Jesuits convert them to Catholicism. For the most part relations with the local tribes were good, as the settlers also provided protection against the Susquehannocks, the warlike tribe to the north. See Brugger, *Middle Temperament*, 7–10.

6. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland from the Earliest Period to the Present Day* (1879; repr., Hatboro, Pa.: Tradition Press, 1967), 121–22.
7. The five indentured servants were John Court, Francis Pope, James Langworth, William King, and Thomas Deniar. Court and Pope, after serving their indentures were later granted their own patents for two hundred acres. See "Land Notes 1634–1655," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 7 (1912): 183.
8. "Land Notes 1634–1655," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 6 (1911): 201. A warrant was an order to lay out so many acres of land. The settler then obtained a certificate of survey that described the location and dimensions of the property.
9. Neale's Wolleston Manor in Maryland, though spelled differently, is likely named after the Neale family's ancestral home, Wollaston, in Wellingborough, Northamptonshire, England; "Land Notes 1634–1655," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 6 (1911): 201.
10. Clayton Coleman Hall, ed., "An Account of the Colony of the Lord Baron Baltimore, 1633," *Narratives of Early Maryland 1633–1684* (New York: Charles Scribner's sons, 1910), 6. Although the Conditions of Plantation were not issued until 1636, one of the inducements offered to the first adventurers in 1633 was "whoever shall pay a hundred pounds to carry over five men, (which will be enough for arms, implements, clothing and other necessities) . . . shall be allotted the right to two thousand acres of good land."
11. William Hand Browne, *George Calvert and Cecilius Calvert, Barons Baltimore of Baltimore* is the only biography I found on Cecil Calvert, and it was published in 1890. In his Preface (vi), in which he compared the abundance of biographical resources and material available for George Calvert with the paucity of the same for Cecil Calvert, Browne stated, "George Calvert passed on a large part of his active life in important public office, and in close contact with the great events and great actors of his day. His name is in all histories and memoirs of the time, and his letters are scattered through many collections. Cecilius, on the other hand, seems to have studied to withdraw himself from publicity. Except in connection with his colony, his name scarcely appears in history, and hardly any letters of his or addressed to him, other than those of a formal and official character, are known to exist. It requires close study of his acts, and of the motives that prompted them, before the dim personality of the man begins to take form and feature. Hence all biographical notices of Cecilius Calvert have been meager, shadowy, and unsatisfactory."
12. Will (original) of James Neale, Liber 4, Folio 40, Charles County, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, Md. (hereinafter cited MSA).
13. Christopher Johnston, "Neale Family," 202–3.
14. Correspondence with the Archdeacon of Charing Cross, the Venerable Dr. W. M. Jacob, London, July 30, 2001. The parochial records for St. Giles contain no entry for the marriage of Raphael Neale and Jane Foreman in 1612, and the baptismal register for the period 1610–36, during which years James Neale was born, has been lost. The registers are extensive and unindexed and were not searched further.
15. There is only indirect evidence that Captain James Neale was a Catholic. It is, however, substantial. His family in England, the Neales of Wollaston, were Catholic. He fits the profile of the gentlemen "sons of Catholic gentry" who made up most of the early adventurers, and by family tradition, both James Neale and Ann Gill were Catholics. Their children were Catholics and several of their grandchildren and great-grandchildren were Jesuit priests, including Bennett Neale. See D. N. Hall, *Wollaston: Portrait of a Village* (Northamptonshire: The Wollaston Society, 1977), 108; John W. McGrain Jr., "Priest Neale: His House and His Successors," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 62 (1967): 254–84, and 63 (1968): 137–57; Francis Neale, who founded the first Catholic Churches in the District of Columbia and Alexandria,

Va.; and Leonard Neale, the second Archbishop of Baltimore.

16. Correspondence with Fr. I. Dickie, Westminster Diocese Archives, London, May 8, 2001, and Mrs. Barbara Murray, Catholic Family History Society, London, May 15, 2001. The earliest Catholic records for London are from the Portuguese Embassy Chapel and only go back to 1662. Cecil Calvert is buried in the churchyard of St. Giles. There is a commemorative plaque in the church.

17. "... many of the English Catholics began to mediate a retreat from a land of persecution. . . . Among these were the leaders of the first Maryland emigrants." See Scharf, *Maryland*, 65. "There was every reason for the desire of . . . English Catholics to leave the mother country and find refuge not only from the policy of the King but from the ominous portent of more severe treatment at the hands of the parliamentary party striving for power." See J. Moss Ives, *The Ark and the Dove* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1936), 100.

18. Calvert started planning and recruiting immediately after he received the charter in 1632. The first expedition left in late 1633. Neale did not go to the colony for three or four years. One possible scenario is that James Neale had wanted to be with the first settlers on the *Ark* and *Dove* but, because of his age (seventeen or eighteen at that time), his emigration was delayed until he was about twenty one. That could be an explanation for the special warrant of two thousand acres in 1642 under terms granted to the first settlers.

19. The original Wolleston Manor was "... a parcell of Land lyeing on the North Side of Patowmeck River and bounded on the South and West with the Said River on the East with the Mouth of Wicocomoko river and on the North with a line drawn by marked trees from the head of a Creek in the Said River called St. Raphael's Creek West untill it fall into a Creek called St. James Creek containing two thousand acres or thereabouts." See "Land Notes 1634-1655," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 6 (1911): 201, and Earl Arnett, Robert J. Brugger, and Edward C. Papenfuse, *Maryland, A New Guide to the Old Line State*, second edition (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 118. St. James Creek is now Cuckhold Creek. The new name was adopted after 1793 when English tobacco agents wrote: "deer here are as numerous as cuckholds in Liverpool." What was later called Charleston Creek was probably St. Raphael's Creek. The manor house built in 1661 by Francis West for Captain James Neale remained in the Neale family for two and a half centuries. Descendant Magdalen McWilliams Mackall (1879-1971) recalled spending most of her summers there as a child in the late nineteenth century. It had been the home of her maternal grandparents and her mother's birthplace. See Magdalen McWilliams Mackall, *The Neales of Maryland and Their Descendants* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1963), x. Wolleston Manor was destroyed by fire about 1904. In 1934, Henry Chandlee Forman, with the assistance of Kent Mullikin, excavated the foundation of the manor house. The site was close to the Potomac River near Swan Point. He prepared a sketch and layout of the original Wolleston Manor. See *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland* (Haverford, Pa.: The author, 1934), 70-71.

20. William Hand Browne, et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland*, (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883-1972), 1:169 (hereinafter cited *Arch.Md.*); Edward D. Neill, *Terra Maria: or Threads of Maryland Colonial History* (Philadelphia, 1867), 73-74.

21. *Arch.Md.*, 3:118, 133, 143-44.

22. *Ibid.*, 3: Preface, 131, 140. Calvert's colonial government initially had a unicameral legislature; the upper and lower houses of the assembly formed in 1650.

23. Brugger, *Middle Temperament*, 17.

24. *Ibid.*, 19; Semmes, *Captains and Mariniers*, 158-60; *Arch.Md.*, 3:159; Regina Combs Hammett, *History of St. Mary's County, Maryland* (Ridge, Md.: The author, 1977), 33-4. One of the two Jesuits transported to England was Father Andrew White, S.J., who had arrived on the

Ark in 1634.

25. *Arch.Md.*, 2:89–90, 3:386; Johnston, *Neale Family*, 204. The date and place of marriage is not known. All except one source indicate they were married in Maryland and then went to Europe. The exception is Harry Wright Newman, *The Maryland Semmes and Kindred Families* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1956), 288–322. Newman wrote that James Neale returned to England and married Ann Gill. He further stated, with no supporting citations, that Benjamin Gill had come to the province "about the same time as he (James Neale), or about 1641," and that "somehow his family remained in Europe and none of them joined him in Maryland." His first statement is incorrect, as it has since been established that James Neale arrived in 1636–37. The second statement, unsupported by any reference, is contradicted by Mary Louise Donnelly in *Colonial Settlers of St. Clement's Bay 1634–1780, St. Mary's County, Maryland* (Ennis, Tex.: M. L. Donnelly, 1996), 196–97. Donnelly writes, "John Pile . . . with his wife Sarah and Family, and Benjamin Gill and his Family emigrated to the Province of Maryland in 1642 (Patents 4:543)." On October 29, 1649, Benjamin Gill was granted one thousand acres "due to him for transporting himself and 5 other persons into this Province in Anno 1642." See "Land Notes 1634–1655," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 7 (1912): 392.

26. Newman, *Semmes and Kindred Families*, 288–89. Newman also stated, without citation or identifying a source, that "From 1644 to 1659 during the Civil Wars and the Puritan supremacy he was either in England or in Europe as an ambassador for Charles I at the Spanish and Portuguese Courts." Regarding the dates, Charles I was beheaded in 1649. See also Paul Wiltach, *Potomac Landings* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1921), 99 [no citations or identifying source information] and John Bowle, *Charles the First* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1975), 252–54, 269–70, 284.

27. Winston S. Churchill, *History of the English Speaking Peoples: The New World* (New York: Dorset Press, 1956), 2: 281.

28. See Hall, *Wollaston: Portrait of a Village*, 110–11.

29. *Arch.Md.*, 2:89–90. This was a petition for naturalization of the four children who had been born in Spain/Portugal.

30. *Arch.Md.*, 4:365.

31. Donnelly, *Colonial Settlers*, 60.

32. *Arch.Md.*, 41:237–38.

33. Hammett, *History of St. Mary's County*, 34–36.

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Arch.Md.*, 3:386–87.

36. Browne, *George Calvert*, 36–37. The charter given to Lord Baltimore by Charles I established Maryland as a palatinate and invested the proprietor with extraordinary powers, among them "to make peace or war, to suppress insurrection . . . command the militia" and commission officers. See Semmes, *Captains and Mariners*, 182–83.

37. *Arch.Md.*, 5:414–15.

38. *Ibid.*, 3:426–28.

39. *Ibid.*; Hester Dorsey Richardson, *Side-Lights on Maryland History* (1903; repr., Cambridge, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1967), 261–62; "Commission to James Neale, Robert Clarke, Baker Brooke, Edward Lloyd, Henry Coursey, and Captain William Evans as Deputy Governors in the event of the death of Governor Phillip Calvert. Given under Greater Seal at Arms," paper no. 205, reel 1, microfilm MS 174, Calvert Papers, Maryland Historical Society.

40. "Westmoreland County Records," *William and Mary College Quarterly*, 15 (1907): 39–40.

41. *Arch.Md.*, 2:89–90. Approval is assumed. Some records were lost.

42. Children of James and Ann Maria Gill Neale: Henrietta Maria Neale (b. 1647, Spain or

Portugal—d. 1697, Maryland) m. 1. Richard Bennett, 2. Philemon Lloyd; James Neale (b. before Aug. 1658, Spain or Portugal—d. 1727, Maryland) m. 1. Elizabeth Calvert, 2. Elizabeth Lord; Dorothy Neale (b. before Aug. 1658, Spain or Portugal—d. 1700, Maryland) m. Roger Brooke; Anthony Neale (b. 1659, Spain or Portugal—d. 1723, Maryland) m. 1. Elizabeth Roswell, 2. Elizabeth Blakestone; Jane Neale (b. after 1660, probably in Maryland—d. unknown, probably Maryland) m. William Boarman.

Neale family marriages in the next few generations were to Maryland families such as: Egerton, Ashburton, van Swearingen, Deacon, Gardner, Brooke, Lancaster, Edelen, Tilghman, Cole, Taney, Bond, Digges, Carroll, Wheeler, and others. The most complete works of early Neale lineage in England and Maryland are Christopher Johnston, "Neale Family of Charles County," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 7 (1912): 201–18; Harry Wright Newman, *The Maryland Semmes and Kindred Families* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1956), 288–322; and Robert Barnes, "The Neale Family," in *British Roots of Maryland Families* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1999), 325–26 and Mackall, *The Neales of Maryland and Their Descendants*. In the Library of Congress copy of Christopher Johnston, "Neale Family of Charles County," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 7 (1912), on pages 205–7, are written notations correcting and adding to the lineage. For example, they show that Elizabeth Lord Neale died in 1705 and James Neale (son of Captain James Neale) was married a third time to Elizabeth Pile, daughter of Captain Joseph and Mary Turner (?) Pile, by whom three of his listed children were born, plus another, Joseph. The notes also add a sixth child to Captain James and Ann Neale, Monica. The person who made these notes did not identify him/herself.

43. Newman, *Semmes and Kindred Families*, 290. The original three-page indenture, by which James Neale deeded the property to his son James on December 20, 1681, is at Maryland Historical Society (James Neale, MS 2018, oversize document). The document bears the signatures and wax seals of James and Ann (she signed it Anna) Neale, William Calvert (son of Leonard Calvert) and his wife Elizabeth, James Neale (the son), and Elizabeth Calvert (the daughter).

44. *Arch.Md.*, 7:609–11.

45. Will of James Neale, MSA; Johnston, "Neale Family," 205.

Bateaux, Mills, and Fish Dams: Opening Navigation on the Monocacy River and the Conococheague and Antietam Creeks

DAN GUZY

As colonial entrepreneurs built mills, ironworks, and other industries in western Maryland, they hoped to open the Potomac River and its major tributaries to navigation, and thus establish shipping routes to the seaports of Georgetown and Alexandria. For example, the abundance of iron ore, wood (for charcoal), limestone (for flux), and waterpower supplied the iron industry in the colonial era and, on May 16, 1765, the *Maryland Gazette* reported “a Batteau, loaded with Iron, was navigated from the Hampton Furnace on Pipe Creek, to the Mouth of the Manockasy in Frederick County.” This might have been the first major commercial shipment down the Monocacy River, yet the batteau’s destination, and how it maneuvered through the Monocacy’s rapids, remain mysteries today.¹ Interest, however, did not generate significant navigational improvements to the Potomac and Monocacy Rivers, and to Conococheague Creek, until the years after the Revolution when the Potomac Company (1785–1828) embarked on several major projects. The company successfully improved travel on the Potomac and Monocacy Rivers and the Conococheague Creek, yet ultimately failed in their efforts to open Antietam Creek.²

Iron makers Thomas Johnson, John Semple, and John Ballendine each developed schemes for opening the upper Potomac River for commercial navigation. Their “river improvement” plans included the use of sluices, bypass canals, and locks to overcome obstructions and rapids. No colonial plan was fully implemented, but the desire to open streams for commerce influenced the Maryland General Assembly to pass *An Act to Prevent Any Obstruction of the Navigation in the River Potowmack* in June 1768. The act forbade “fish dams” and other structures that hindered navigation on the non-tidal Potomac and on the Monocacy below Double Pipe Creek. A 1765 bill proposed to also restrict such dams on Conococheague Creek, but the latter stream was not mentioned in the 1768 act.³

One such obstruction was the fish dam, V-shaped stone weirs constructed like

The author has written extensively on the work of the Potomac Company and is a past contributor to this journal.



Fish weir ruins on the Monocacy River, near Buckeystown. (Photo by the author.)

fences and used to direct and collect fish in “traps” or “pots” placed in the openings through the apexes of the V’s. Humans constructed fish weirs across the shallow stretches of the Potomac and its tributaries from prehistoric times until at least the early part of the twentieth century, although weirs had been outlawed from colonial times. Today, many such ruins are found in the Monocacy, Conococheague, and Antietam, as well as the Potomac.⁴

Although the 1768 act did not specifically mention milldams as navigational “nuisances,” dams built across streams would obviously block boat traffic unless locks or sluices were constructed to bypass the dams. For example, in 1771, Christian Strowder found that his milldam across the Monocacy violated the act and he offered to alter it “in such Manner as to let up and down any Vessel or Water Carriage which may be used in said River for the Transportation of Iron, Wheat, or any Thing else.”⁵

Most mills built near the Monocacy and Conococheague were small and powered by dams across non-navigable tributaries, rather than across the main streams. Only a few larger “merchant mills” would require dams stretching across the Monocacy and Conococheague. Antietam Creek is significantly smaller and narrower and thus was more easily and more frequently dammed. Charles Varle’s 1808 map showed two mills situated directly on the Monocacy near the Pennsylvania border and only one mill on the Cononocheague in Maryland, near Williamsport. In contrast, the map showed many mills and forges directly on Antietam Creek.⁶

Mills also had positive effects on navigation. They provided products to be

shipped and potential tolls to be paid to those who would improve navigation. In addition, milldams crossing streams raised water levels upstream, creating stretches of slackwater that covered natural obstacles such as shoals and ledges. Mills and their dams were generally built at rapids, taking advantage of a steep local stream gradient or "fall." Building a sluice or chute through a low dam, or a canal and lock around a higher dam (often incorporating the millrace into the canal) opened the waterway to navigation through a former rapid that might otherwise require extensive "improvement." As will be discussed below, the navigational improvements proposed for Antietam Creek would make extensive use of existing milldams and millraces.

The Maryland and Virginia legislatures chartered the Potomac Company in 1784. The company's founders promised that within three years they would clear obstacles from the Potomac River and build bypass canals and sluices around major rapids, making the river navigable from the tidewater to a place on the North Branch above Cumberland "at which a road shall be set off to the Cheat River." Navigation was defined as that for "vessels drawing one foot of water," and during dry, low water seasons. The company's charters allowed it to condemn land along the Potomac, build works, and collect tolls on boat cargo in order to pay off debts and reward investors.⁷

The Potomac Company finished its major bypass canals through the Potomac's lower freshwater regions with the completion of the Great Falls canal and locks in 1802—fourteen years behind its original schedule. The company's president and directors proudly proclaimed at their January 1802 meeting that "after the approaching frost no obstacle on any part of the main River will remain to the free and safe transportation of the Produce of the upper country, from Georges Creek to tidewater markets, a distance of more than two hundred miles. . . . [We] confidently expect that in the course of a very few years it will be so far improved as to admit to free passage of loaded boats at almost all seasons." Adding to the optimism, the Potomac Company paid its first, and only, dividend to shareholders in 1802.⁸

At the turn of the nineteenth century, the Potomac Company looked towards extending navigation to the Potomac's major tributaries for the purpose of increasing toll revenues, particularly from the mills developing along those streams. Company records of this time typically equated optimal navigational conditions with those allowing the passage of "boats with 100 barrels of flour," and less favorable conditions with boats holding only fifty or sixty barrels. Of the twenty categories of products the Potomac Company targeted for tolls, flour proved the most lucrative, followed by iron, whiskey, and tobacco.⁹

The Shenandoah River, the Potomac's largest tributary, was undoubtedly the company's first choice of the "feeder streams" to open for navigation. Its main stem and two forks ran hundreds of miles through the grain-producing Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. The Monocacy River in Maryland was the likely second choice.



Kemp's Mill and Dam on the Conococheague Creek. (Photo by the author.)

However, the cash-starved company needed loans to finance their projects and the loans took years to develop. Consequently, the Potomac Company first began improvements on Conococheague Creek in what its directors must have thought (mistakenly) would be a quick and easy project.¹⁰

Conococheague Creek

The Conococheague is Maryland's second largest non-tidal tributary of the Potomac and has about two-thirds the flow of the Monocacy River. Like Antietam Creek, it flows south from headwaters in Pennsylvania and drains the Great Valley in Washington County, Maryland. Philemon Lloyd noted in 1721 that an Indian water route followed the Conococheague and "a branch of the Susquehanna River," connected by a "land carriage of eight miles only." The distance, in a straight line, from where Conococheague Creek leaves Pennsylvania to where it enters the Potomac at Williamsport is eight miles. The creek's natural meandering course, however, stretches that distance to twenty-two miles. Most of that course is relatively free of obstruction. The only major obstacle was, as it is today, the milldam at Swingley's, or Kemp's Mill, about three and a half miles upstream from the mouth.¹¹

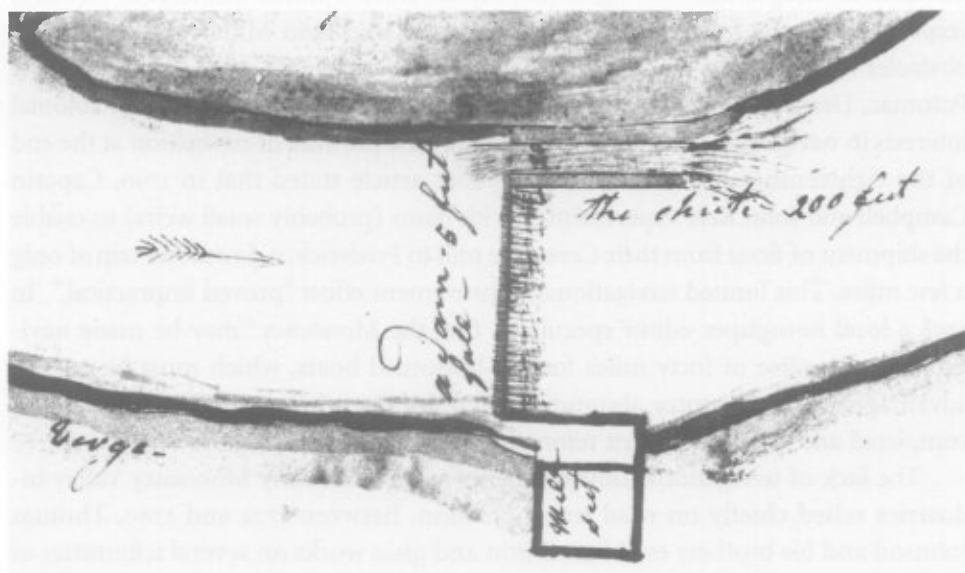
In June 1795, the Potomac Company agreed to award a \$1,600 contract to William King and John Miller to build a lock at Swingley's milldam. The minutes of the company's annual shareholder meeting in August 1795 summarized the Potomac Company's plans.

Upon the frequent and earnest application of several persons living on the Conagocheague, which runs through a very fertile country, the Navigation of which for some distance upwards is only interrupted by one Mill Dam called Swinleys [Swingley's] a small way from the mouth, the President and Directors have contracted with persons to construct a Lock at that Dam and compleat the same by the month of January next the costs of which will be four hundred and eighty pounds. Considerable quantities of flour have already been brought from the mouth of that stream to the Great Falls, when this impediment is removed the quantity will be greatly increased.¹²

In a March 1796 letter to Thomas Jefferson, Potomac Company president Tobias Lear wrote that completing one lock on the Conococheague had opened the creek for navigation. In January 1797, however, Lear placed an order with other contractors for an inspection of "the works done on Conogoecheague by Abraham Rafter & Aaron Dyer . . . and report how far they have complied with their contract for erecting a Lock on the said River immediately below the Dam of Swinleys Mill & upon the opposite side of the River." In October 1797 the company directors ordered that "the contractors for building a Lock on the Conogoecheague . . . state the reasons for not having completed that work agreeably to contract." These accounts indicate that efforts to build a lock at the milldam failed.¹³

Beginning in 1798, Potomac Company accounts refer to plans to build a chute rather than a lock at Swingley's milldam. The chute, a sluice without lock seats and gates, was easier to construct, yet even this simpler structure took years to complete.

Proposed mill, dam, and chute on the Potomac River, 1818. (Courtesy of the National Archives.)



Finally, in August 1803, the directors noted, "there has been a Chute placed in Swingley's Milldam upon the Conogocheague to facilitate the passage of vessels in the Creek." The accompanying figure shows what may have been a similar dam and chute arrangement proposed to the Potomac Company in 1818.¹⁴

The Swingley's Mill chute must have been successful. Unlike other Potomac Company works whose repair and maintenance records are noted in the company books, the chute is not specifically mentioned after its completion. An 1817 status report on company works noted that the Conococheague was cleared "near its mouth" and was navigable for fifteen miles, a distance up to the shallow fording area of Broadfording, about four miles northwest of Hagerstown today. The report also stated "nothing has yet been done on the upper part of the Conogocheague." The "yet" implied a desire to clear the upper Conococheague, perhaps as far as Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, but company records document no further improvements on the creek.¹⁵

The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania hoped to improve Conodoguinet Creek for navigation and to connect its headwaters with those of Conococheague Creek. That would have created an all-water route between the Susquehanna and Potomac Rivers, and link Harrisburg with Washington, D.C. By 1826, the canal commissioners of Pennsylvania recommended a Conococheague-Conodoguinet Canal, but the development of railroads made the canal obsolete before work began.¹⁶

Monocacy River

The Monocacy is Maryland's largest non-tidal tributary of the Potomac. It begins near the Pennsylvania border and flows about sixty miles south through Frederick County to the Potomac. The Monocacy has more ledges and shoals than the Conococheague and two significant rapids. Davis's and Griffith's Falls (located, respectively, at the later sites for Michaels and Greenfield Mills) were the major obstacles to navigation along the seventeen miles between Frederick City and the Potomac. Despite the 1765 batteau trip, the 1768 fish dam act, and general colonial interests in navigation, the Monocacy held only the promise of navigation at the end of the eighteenth century. A 1926 newspaper article stated that in 1790, Captain Campbell and John Kerr experimented with dams (probably small weirs) to enable the shipment of flour from their Ceresville mill to Frederick, a downriver trip of only a few miles. This limited navigational improvement effort "proved impractical." In 1798 a local newspaper editor speculated that the Monocacy "may be made navigable for a course of forty miles for flat bottomed boats, which must be equally advantageous to a country abounding in grain, etc, when the Potomac becomes completed and the government removes to the city of Washington."¹⁷

The lack of navigational improvements meant that early Monocacy Valley industries relied chiefly on road transportation. Between 1774 and 1789, Thomas Johnson and his brothers established iron and glass works on several tributaries of

the Monocacy River. The Johnsons used roads and wagons to transport their products between factories and to market. An exception was iron ore. This they shipped via water from Point of Rocks on the Potomac to Johnson Furnace on the Monocacy, below Griffith's Falls and near the mouth of the river. Similarly, Johann Friedrich Amelung's New Bremen Glass Works on Bennett Creek, established in 1785, relied on land transportation to its Baltimore markets. In 1789, George Washington referred to Amelung's glass works in a letter to Thomas Jefferson. "I am informed it will this year produce Glass of various kinds, nearly to the amount of ten thousand pounds value. This factory will be essentially benefitted by having the navigation of the Potomac completely opened." Amelung fell into bankruptcy before the Potomac Company finished the Great Falls works.¹⁸

In 1802, the year the Great Falls locks first operated, the Potomac Company secured the loan they needed to begin navigational improvements on the Monocacy. The directors announced at their August 1802 annual stockholders meeting:

It having been represented to the Stockholders of the Potomack Company by the Landholders on the River Monocasy in the State of Maryland, that they are willing to advance a sum of money sufficient to remove the obstructions to the Navigation of that River at an interest of 6 per cent from the time of making the advance till refunded, and to wait reimbursement until convenient for the Company, withholding, until such reimbursement be made, all the Tolls upon the articles transported from that River by the Potomack to tide water. Resolved that the Board of Directors be empowered to engage and proceed to the removal of the obstructions to Navigation of that water canal upon the terms proposed, as enabled so to do by the advance of money for that purpose.¹⁹

The company gave Leonard Harbaugh, who had just supervised completion of the Great Falls works, the job of surveying, planning, and leading the Monocacy effort. A Frederick newspaper advertisement called for laborers to meet with Harbaugh "who proposes to commence his operations on the improvement of the navigation on the river Monocacy, at Griffith's falls" on August 17, 1803. The project needed a crew to work its way upstream, from the lower falls, clearing obstructions. The initial \$1,500 loan was not finalized until at least September 1803, which slightly delayed the start of the project.²⁰

The Monocacy clearing effort met with some immediate success, as reported in the March 16, 1804 issue of Bartgis's *Republican Gazette*. "We understand that on Monday, the 12th instant, a new boat belonging to Captain Campbell of this county started from the late General Williams's mill on the Monocasy about four miles from Town" (the Ceresville Mill, and actually on Israel Creek near its mouth) "loaded with 80 barrels of flour for the Georgetown market. This, we believe is the

first boat built for the purpose of trading down the Monocacy and Potomack rivers to Georgetown." The *Gazette* of March 23, 1803, reported that "Capt. Campbell's flour boat . . . made a prosperous voyage down" to Georgetown "and returned home in safety on the morning of Monday the 19th instant."

Typically high March water levels undoubtedly aided this newsworthy voyage. Nevertheless, the general belief in early 1804 was that the river's navigational improvements were finished and fully funded by loans that had grown to a sum of just under \$2,800. *The National Intelligencer* declared "that the work commended last summer on the Monocasee, is now completely finished, and that good navigation is now afforded from a distance of several miles beyond Frederick-town, down the Monocasee to the Potomack, and thence to the city of Washington." Similarly, the Potomac Company directors stated at their August 1804 stockholders meeting that the Monocacy "has been rendered very safe and practicable for the distance of about forty miles."²¹

However, more work was needed. In September 1804, the Potomac Company directors ordered Leonard Harbaugh to examine "the work done at Davis's Falls upon the Monocacy and Report to the Board which repairs and further work is necessary to be done at that place, and get the best information he can procure of the further works necessary to be done upon the Monocacy to render that river Navigable as far as it is practicable to be extended." The following month they directed Harbaugh to use twenty hands to finish the work at Davis's Falls and employ another crew for "removing fish Dams in the Monocacy as high as Pipe Creek." In August 1805, the Potomac Company authorized a loan "not exceeding 500 dollars for the further improvement of the River Monocasy."²²

In January 1805, the Potomac Company directors reassigned Leonard Harbaugh to the Shenandoah River project. The Monocacy project was almost finished and the start-up loans for the new, and much greater, effort on the Shenandoah all but finalized. By 1807, Harbaugh would complete major bypass canals and locks along the Shenandoah River rapids near and above Harpers Ferry. But despite these new accomplishments, and further loans and lotteries, the Potomac Company struggled financially and was never able to remove all the lesser obstacles on the upper Shenandoah. In 1816, after years of bargaining, the Potomac Company sold its Shenandoah works and rights to another navigation company, the New Shenandoah Company. Leonard Harbaugh had left the Potomac Company long before. In 1808 and 1809, he returned to the Monocacy and supervised the construction of Jug Bridge on the toll road to the west—the extension of the National Road.²³

Potomac Company records do not hold details of what comprised "clearing" along the Monocacy. Consequently, we do not know if sluices were constructed through Davis's and Griffith's Falls, or if ledges and rocks were simply blasted away to form a smoother passage through the rapids. In 1808 and 1817 reports summa-

rizing the status of its works, the Potomac Company simply stated that the “extent of navigation” on the Monocacy was “forty miles.” Because these reports did not mention canals and locks on the Monocacy, but did so in detail for the Shenandoah and Potomac, we can assume that canals and locks were not constructed on the Monocacy, or at least not until dams for merchant mills were constructed across the river.²⁴

Ignatius Davis and D. Richardson built their merchant mill and dam at Davis’s Falls sometime between 1812 and 1816. In August 1812 a local newspaper reported a “merchant mill (now building) on Monocacy River belonging to Ignatius Davis and D. Richardson.” The minutes of a February 1816 Potomac Company meeting noted a “report of Ignatius Davis for work done at his Mill for the improvement of Navigation of the River Monocacy” filed with the company. Minutes of a July 1819 company meeting implied that Davis would be exempt from “tolls on flour” as compensation for improvements at his mill. Isaac McPherson secured the company’s permission before he started building his mill at Griffith’s Falls in 1827. Unfortunately, the details of navigational structures at both mills are unknown.²⁵

The success of New York’s Erie Canal led to calls for a similar still-water canal paralleling the Potomac. The Maryland legislature endorsed the proposed Chesapeake and Ohio (C&O) Canal Company in 1824. Consequently, in 1828, the Potomac Company surrendered its properties, rights, and operations to the new company. There were also calls for another independent canal connecting the C&O

Dam ruins at Michael’s Mill on the Monocacy River. (Photo by the author.)





Charles Varle, 1808 Map of Frederick and Washington Counties, State of Maryland. (*Maryland Historical Society.*)

Canal to Baltimore. The plan for the latter “lateral canal” was an integral part of the law establishing the Maryland Board of Public Works in 1825.²⁶

Two proposed routes for the Potomac-to-Baltimore canal would parallel the Monocacy River up from the C&O Canal aqueduct, continue along either Linganore or Little Pipe Creek and upper tributaries, tunnel through Parr’s Ridge, and proceed down the Patapsco River watershed to Baltimore. Isaac Briggs’s 1823 canal survey, sponsored by the state of Maryland, proposed building a thirteen-foot dam at Griffith’s Falls to raise waters there to the level of the C&O Canal. The City of Baltimore commissioned similar surveys by Isaac Trimble, Charles Fisk, and John Abert in 1837 and 1838. The latter surveys concluded that water supplies on the upper parts of Linganore and Little Pipe Creeks were insufficient for practical canal routes. Soon after, the Baltimore and Ohio (B&O) Railroad provided the best commerce route from Baltimore to the west, and to Washington D.C.—plans to connect Baltimore by canal were abandoned.²⁷

On August 14, 1828, Frederick citizens held a meeting in support of an independent “feeder canal” from that city to the C&O Canal. The group’s resolutions reflected the period’s overall enthusiasm for new independent canals and also clearly implied that the Potomac Company’s in-river improvements of the Monocacy had failed to provide the “channel of commerce” so desired. The B&O Railroad would soon service Frederick, making river or canal navigation obsolete.²⁸

In 1833, the Maryland General Assembly modified the 1807 act outlawing Monocacy fish dams and restricted such obstructions to the ten-mile stretch below

Detail from Varle's 1808 map of Frederick County. Note Nicholas Swingel's mill on the banks of Antietam Creek.



"Kemp's, lately Davis's, mill dam." This change implies that local merchants and millers still needed river commerce to the Potomac, but river commerce from the City of Frederick upstream was no longer needed.²⁹

Antietam Creek

Although Antietam Creek ranked as the Potomac River's fourth largest non-tidal tributary (after Wills Creek), the Potomac Company did not initially consider it for improvements. The owners of the mills along the heavily populated creek relied on road transportation in the early years of the nineteenth century. In 1811, several of these merchants approached the Potomac Company and promised to lend the company money in exchange for navigation work on the creek—and thus improve trade with nation's capital. The goal was to make the Antietam navigable from its mouth "to the Pennsylvania line at all seasons for Boats of at least one hundred Barrells of flour burden."³⁰

In January 1812, the Maryland legislature passed an act extending the rights of the Potomac Company beyond the Potomac and allowed it to condemn lands along the Monocacy, Conococheague, and Antietam "for the purposes of making canals and locks in improving the navigation on such branches." The Potomac Company's works on the first two streams had long been completed and likely involved no lock construction. So the proposed Antietam Creek effort must have been the force behind the 1812 act.³¹

The Antietam effort would be unlike any that the Potomac Company had previously undertaken. The directors saw the nearly twenty milldams on the creek as navigational opportunities and not as obstructions. The proposal would convert millraces into boat canals (enlarging them and adding new segments to bypass the



Millrace at the Antietam Iron Works. (Photo by the author.)

mills' wheels) and install locks to raise and lower boats. The Potomac Company had built just thirteen locks in its history, preferring to construct sluices without locks wherever possible. For the Antietam project, the company ambitiously planned to build twenty-one new locks.

Work on Antietam Creek began relatively quickly. Josias Thomson, the Potomac Company's "general superintendent of works" since 1810, had overall charge of the project. In early 1812 the company appointed John Ragan as superintendent of the Antietam works and hired Thomas Harbaugh to make "Lock Gates and other works." Josias Thomson advertised for stonemasons to build the locks. In an April advertisement notifying Antietam loan subscribers that their first installment was due, Thomson stated that he had "already contracted for a number of the locks—the work is progressing, and will be finished at an earlier period than was originally contemplated."³²

The Potomac Company's annual stockholders meeting, held in August 1812, reported on the project's status and noted that almost half the work had begun:

The farmers and merchants on Antietam Creek have agreed to loan the Company twenty thousand Dollars at an Interest of 6 per cent to be expended in making the Creek navigable which it is believed sufficient for that purpose. But should this sum not be sufficient, they are willing to increase the loan the principal and interest of the money loaned by them to be paid and refunded out of the tolls on produce, etc. which shall descend that creek in no other way. Contracts have been entered into for the building of ten locks on the Antietam, nearly all of which have been commenced.³³

The following year the directors reported that "The works on the Antietam have been regularly progressing, but not so rapidly as was expected and might be wished, owing principally to the difficulty of procuring workmen and labor in that country." However, financial, not labor, problems ultimately led to the downfall of the project. The Antietam loan subscribers (consolidated at the Bank of Hagerstown) suspected gross cost overruns and refused to pay their loan installments. The Potomac Company directors met with subscribers in Hagerstown in November 1813 to work out measures for a "speedy completion" of the work. They hoped a separate company would form and take over the Antietam Creek project as had happened with the Shenandoah River project. The company failed to resolve its financial problems, and in March 1814 the directors suspended Antietam operations and dismissed Thomas Harbaugh.³⁴

In the unpleasant aftermath of the Antietam works suspension, Josias Thomson charged Harbaugh and Ragan with "misconduct and mismanagement." The Potomac Company directors reviewed the matter and concluded that the charges against Harbaugh and Ragan were "groundless and without foundation." The Potomac Company blamed the delinquent loan payments as the cause of the Antietam failure. One must note, however, that the company originally promised to make the Antietam navigable with a loan of \$20,000. Harbaugh later estimated the total cost at \$100,000—five times the amount of original loan.³⁵

The suspension continued through 1814, and in January 1815 the company, with no further need of its craft, arranged to sell off its boats and rafts on Antietam Creek. In one last attempt to save the project, the Potomac Company placed notices in local papers soliciting proposals:

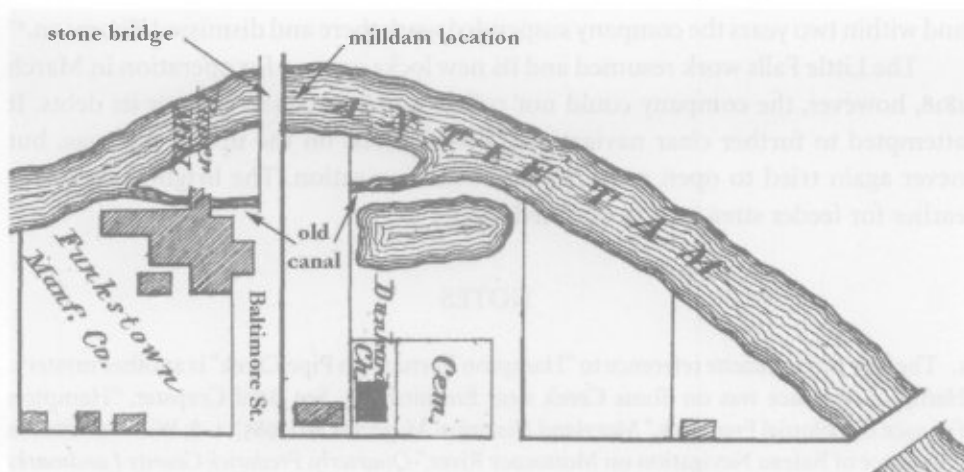
for erecting Locks and opening and completing the navigation of the Antietam Creek, from its mouth to the mills of Messrs. John and George Harry, near Hagerstown; and distinct proposals for extending the navigation to the Pennsylvania line. . . . The contract must secure a constant navigation through the summer seasons. As this will be a work of considerable magnitude it may be worth the attention of persons qualified . . . [to] find further interest in forming small companies to offer proposals for particular sections.³⁶

This effort apparently failed. The minutes of the company's August 1815 annual meeting suggest that the Antietam project was dead:

The contemplated improvement of the Antietam navigation has only been effected in part from the refusal of a number of the subscribers to the loan to pay any part of their subscription under an apprehension & belief (sanctioned by public opinion) that the estimate of work was too low, and the

Antietam Creek Mills, Canals, & Locks (from Thomas Harbaugh's *Memorandum*)

Dam Owner, Purpose of Mill or Forge	Miles from Above	Fall (ft.)	Proposed or Constructed Navigational Structure
Col. Daniel Hughes, Rock Forge, near PA border	-	10	proposed canal around dam, past obstructions for 400 yards below & lock
Christopher Burkhart, merchant & sawmill	1 ½	5 ½	"commenced" canal & lock
John Russell, merchant mill	1	4 ½	proposed ½-mile canal & lock
Christian Lantz, merchant mill	1	4	proposed a "long canal" & lock
Col. Daniel Hughes, forge, furnace & mills	2	12	proposed to widen existing race & add a lock
Jacob Rohrer, merchant mill & sawmill	2	6	proposed to widen race & place lock near "end of mill"
John Rohrer, merchant mill	2	4	proposed canal & lock
Henry Miller, paper mill & sawmill	1	4	proposed lock & canal-stone cut for lock
John & George Harry, mills near Hagerstown	2	5	canal & lock seats dug out-stone cut-gates, sills and iron made
Gerhart Buckwalter, sawmill	¾	3	proposed lock, dam built during Antietam work
Henry Shafer, merchant, saw mill & factory, Funkstown	1 ½	7	completed 300-ft, 17 ft-wide canal and lock; canal walls supported "bridge for the main street"
Christian Boerstler, small powder mill & woolen factory	½	1	proposed only a "sluice gate" due to small fall (i.e. no lock)
Messrs Clagetts, merchant mill & sawmill	1 ¾	6	proposed to follow race and then turn to right with a long canal & lock
John Sharrer, merchant, saw & hemp mills	1 ½	6 ½	proposed a 150 yard canal & lock
Benjamin Emmert, dam built after Antietam effort began	4	3 ½	proposed a lock here if no long canal built past Chaney Falls (see next)
Col. Daniel Hughes, no existing dam at Chaney's Falls	½	9	alternatively, proposed a canal & lock, beginning at Emmert's dam and going past Chaney's Falls
John Shafer, merchant mill & sawmill	2 ½	9	proposed to convert race into a canal & lock
John Booth, merchant mill & sawmill	1 ½	8	proposed to convert race into a canal & lock
possible new dam, lock & canal between existing dams			"it might be well to add . . . another lock and canal" between Booth and Mumma's dams
Jacob Mumma, merchant mill & sawmill	7	9	proposed "perhaps . . . the shortest canal" & lock - stone cut for lock
Messrs. McPherson & Brien, Antietam Iron Works	4 ½	13	commenced conversion of iron works race to a 150-yard canal & 2 locks
Total	38 ½		"21 locks & 1 sluice gate"



The millrace/canal at Shafer's Mill, Funkstown.

sum subscribed not sufficient to effect the object nor to afford the benefit bargained for and on which the loan was predicated.

In late 1817 the company summarized the status, "a considerable expenditure has also been made on the Antietam, but without as yet, any beneficial result from that branch of the river."³⁷

In 1818, Thomas Harbaugh wrote a memorandum to the Potomac Company in which he described every canal and lock planned along Antietam Creek and also the existing mills and dams. The accompanying table extracts data from that memorandum and shows that the project would have utilized nineteen milldams, two of which were incomplete when work stopped in 1814.

In most cases, the Antietam plan called for converting millraces into canals and placing a lock at the end of the canal. Harbaugh noted that the races were "generally long, narrow and crooked, winding round the rocks to avoid the expense of blowing," and thus expensive to modify for navigation. Harbaugh also thought the company's plan to extend navigation through the upper four dams was impractical. Although stone had been cut for many of the locks and a few locks were "commenced," only the canal and lock at Henry Shafer's mills and factory in Funkstown were fully completed before the Antietam effort stopped.³⁸

Funkstown local history says that at least one boatload of flour was shipped through the lock at Henry Shafer's mills, but this seems to be more legend than fact. With the canals and locks unfinished downstream, there would have been no practical reason to build a boat and ship flour for only a short distance.³⁹

After abandoning the Antietam project in 1814, the Potomac Company re-assigned Josias Thomson to supervise the construction of the new stone locks at the Little Falls on the Potomac. The new Little Falls project also struggled financially

and within two years the company suspended work there and dismissed Thomson.⁴⁰

The Little Falls work resumed and its new locks opened for operation in March 1818, however, the company could not collect enough tolls to recover its debts. It attempted to further clear navigational obstructions on the upper Potomac, but never again tried to open new tributaries for navigation. The bright future seen earlier for feeder streams had dimmed away.

NOTES

1. The *Maryland Gazette* reference to "Hampton Furnace on Pipe Creek" is another mystery. Hampton Furnace was on Toms Creek near Emmitsburg. See Basil Crapster, "Hampton Furnace in Colonial Frederick," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 80 (1985): 1-8; William Trout in "Evidence of Bateau Navigation on Monocacy River," *Quarterly, Frederick County Landmarks Foundation*, July-September, 1986, pages 1, 5-6. Trout speculated that since Tom's Creek is not navigable today, and since the Hampton Furnace's iron master was Norman Bruce of Bruceville on Big Pipe Creek, perhaps the *Maryland Gazette* confused Hampton Furnace with one at Bruceville. However, the author of this article could find no mention of a Bruceville furnace in Carroll County historical resources.
2. Cora Bacon Foster, *Early Chapters in the Development of the Patomac Route to the West* (1912; repr. New York: Burt Franklin, 1971); Robert J. Kapsch, "The Potomac Canal: A Construction History," *Canal History and Technology Proceedings*, 21 (2002): 142-235; and Douglas R. Littlefield, "Eighteenth-Century Plans to Clear the Potomac River," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 93 (1985): 291-322, present excellent histories of the Potomac Company and prior colonial navigation schemes. John McGrain, Baltimore County historian, generously shared much of the information on mills reproduced in this article. Robert Kapsch, National Park Service gave information on Monocacy River navigation. Janet Davis, Frederick County Planning Commission, provided information on Monocacy Valley historic industry, and John Frye, Hagerstown Library, Maryland Room, shared historic material about Antietam Creek and Funkstown mills.
3. Thomas Johnson's 1770 plan to open the Potomac for navigation recognized the economic importance of commerce along that river's feeder streams. His "Maryland Subscription Paper" noted "Monocasy, Connegocheage, the So[uth] Branch, and Patterson Cr[ee]k are all at times [navigable] and most of them generally capable of navigation for considerable distances." See Grace L. Nute, "Washington and the Potomac: Manuscripts of the Minnesota Historical Society," *American Historical Review*, 28(1923): 509. For the first navigation bill see *The Proceedings of the Maryland General Assembly, November 21, 1765*, William Hand Browne, et al., editors, *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1873-1972), 59:54 (hereinafter cited *Arch.Md.*); Act No. 5 of 1768 was passed June 15, 1768, *Arch.Md.*, 61:427.
4. Dan Guzy, "Fish Weirs in the Upper Potomac River," *Maryland Archeology*, 35 (1999): 1-24, and "Fish Weirs in the Monocacy and Potomac Rivers," *Maryland Archeology*, 37 (2001): 11-21 document fish weirs and their history. The latter article identified seventeen probable and thirteen possible fish weir ruins along the Monocacy. The author's unpublished survey of the Conococheague between Williamsport and Broadfording identified five fish weir ruins. There is also a high density of Antietam Creek fish weir ruins in the two miles upstream from the Hitt Bridge (Keedysville Road).
5. *Arch.Md.*, 63:143.

6. Charles Varle, 1808 *Map of Frederick and Washington Counties, State of Maryland*. Thomas Scharf stated, "as early as 1796, there were thirty seven grist mills on the Monocacy and its branches," *History of Western Maryland* (Philadelphia: 1882), 364.
7. The Virginia and Maryland acts chartering the Potomac Company were similar. See Bacon-Foster, *Early Chapters*, 210–33. The Maryland act was An Act for Establishing a Company for Opening and Extending the Navigation of the River Patowmack. See Hanson, *Laws of Maryland, 1773–1784*, 383–91.
8. Records of the Potomac Company, File 79.12.1, National Archives Annex, College Park, Maryland (hereinafter cited Potomac Company Records). The Potomac Company's delays in completing its Potomac works required new legislation to accommodate them. Edward C. Papenfuse, et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland Online* (Annapolis: Maryland State Archives, 1990–), 204:150–63, 501–2 (hereinafter *Arch.Md.Online*); *Laws of Maryland, 1794*, MSA SC M 3181, Maryland State Archives (hereinafter MSA).
9. See Bacon-Foster, *Early Chapters*, 217. House of Representatives, 19th Congress, 1st Session, Report 228: 64, May 22, 1826. This report is a summary of the Potomac Company tolls from 1800 through 1826. This shows that 1811 was by far the best year for company tolls, with \$22,542.89 collected from products including 118,222 barrels of flour. Assuming cargo size of around one hundred barrels, this would equate to over one thousand shipments of flour.
10. In a December 5, 1791, letter to Arthur Young, George Washington proposed improving navigation on the Shenandoah River and the Potomac's South Branch, "the Monocacy and Conogocheag are capable of improvement to a degree which will be convenient and beneficial to the Inhabitants of that State, and to parts of Pennsylvania." See John C. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of George Washington*, Volume 31 (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1931–44), 436–40.
11. William B. Marye, "Patowmeck Above Ye Inhabitants," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 30 (1935): 3, and 32 (1937): 292–300. Marye speculated that the eight-mile Indian portage noted by Philemon Lloyd (and made possible by the lightweight bark canoes of the North) was between a point on Conococheague Creek, three and a half miles above Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, and Herron's Branch, a tributary of Conodoguinet Creek. The confluence of Conodoguinet Creek and the Susquehanna River is slightly upstream from Harrisburg. The Vulgamot (Wogamot, and various other spellings) family owned the "Dutch Folly" and its mill as early as 1745. Nicholas Swingle purchased the buildings before 1784. Dennis Griffith's 1794 *Map of the State of Maryland* shows "Swingle's Mill" next to the Conococheague Creek and not on a tributary. Varle's 1808 map shows the same configuration. The Leiter and Kemp families owned the mill during the nineteenth century. More recently, "Kemp's Mill" served as a restaurant and night club until damaged by the Hurricane Agnes flood in 1972. The mill is now a private residence and its current thirteen-foot, concrete-covered dam is still standing, but breached since 1998.
12. Potomac Company Records.
13. The March 13, 1796, letter from Tobias Lear to Thomas Jefferson is in Grace Nute, "Washington and the Potomac; Manuscripts of the Minnesota Historical Society 1769–1796, Part II," *American Historical Review*, 28 (1923): 718–22. Other sources are in the Potomac Company Records. Building the lock on the "opposite side" of Swingle's Mill meant that the mill race was not to be used as a canal and thus different from the Antietam approach. If the mill dam was of relatively low height, a "flashlock" with a single gate might have been practical. The Potomac Company built double-gated "pound locks" at its major bypass canals. See Littlefield, "Eighteenth-Century Plans," 301, for a discussion of flash and pound locks.
14. Potomac Company Records, August 15, 1798 letter to or from "Mr. Templeman" (a Potomac

Company director) noted that the board of directors gave instructions to build a "shoot" (chute) at "Swindles [sic] dam at the mouth of Conococheague." The opening of the Conococheague for navigation in 1803 coincided with an act passed earlier that year that allowed the Potomac Company to collect tolls at the mouth of Conococheague, Laws of Maryland, 1802, chapter 84. The sketch of the Potomac River mill, dam, and chute, reproduced herein, was included in an April 19, 1818, letter from Edward Colston to the Potomac Company. Colston proposed to build these opposite James Prather's (or Praither's) mill and dam on the Potomac, just up stream of the current Four Locks area in Maryland and below Little Georgetown, West Virginia. His chute was to be twenty feet wide. An 1822 Potomac survey noted only Prather's saw mill and dam, so Edward Colston likely never built the proposed works. He later built the Honeywood Mill at the C&O Company's Dam No. 5, the slackwater behind which now covers the rapids and land at his original site.

15. Potomac Company Records. With the exception of an 1810 company account mentioning contracts to clear and remove navigational obstacles on the Shenandoah, Potomac, and the Conococheague, work on the latter stream was rarely mentioned after the Swingley's Mill chute was finished. See December 9 (or 6), 1817, letter from John Mason, president of the Potomac Company, to Barnard Payton, secretary of the Virginia Board of Public Works, hereinafter, "1817 Mason to Payton," in Potomac Company Records and reproduced in part in Bacon-Foster, *Early Chapters*, 180–82. A January 20, 1808, report from Mason to Albert Gallatin, secretary of the treasury, gave a similar account but stated inconsistently that Conococheague was navigable for "14 miles" and then for "24 miles," hereinafter, "1808 Mason to Gallatin," in Potomac Company Records and reproduced in part in Bacon-Foster, *Early Chapters*, 172–77.

16. *The Conodoguinet and the Chesapeake Bay* (Alliance for the Chesapeake Bay website: <http://www.acb-online.org/conodo.cfm>) and the booklet, *A Long Way with Many Bends*, by the Conodoguinet Creek Watershed Association and Timothy A. Lemke, undated, published before 1993.

17. Campbell and Kerr's navigation effort is discussed in "Ancient Mills of the Monocacy," in the April 11, 1926 issue of the *Baltimore Sun*. The *Sun* article speculated that what many (including the author of this article) consider to be fish weir ruins in the Monocacy might instead be from navigational weirs. The chief difference between the two types of weirs is that navigational weirs required wider openings at their apexes than fish weirs in order to permit boat passage. Philip Lord Jr., "The Wing Dams at Snouk's Rapid: A Proto-Lock on the Mohawk River," *The Bulletin, Journal of the New York State Archaeological Association*, 106 (1993): 1–7. In this article the author discussed how navigational weirs evolved from aboriginal fish weirs and noted that both coexisted on the Mohawk River in the early nineteenth century. Because of their similarity, a fish weir could easily be converted into a navigational weir and vice versa. Such conversions likely occurred as navigational interests waxed and waned. The 1798 quote is from *The Key*, reproduced in T. J. C. Williams, *History of Frederick County, Maryland* (1910; repr. Baltimore: Regional Publishing Company, 1979), 269. The "forty miles" of potentially navigable water noted in the *Key* article is the stretch of the Monocacy below Double Pipe Creek, near Detour, Maryland. This is the extent of potentially navigable Monocacy waters considered in the 1768 fish dam act as well as several Potomac Company accounts.

18. The Johnson Brothers built iron works throughout the Monocacy valley as they had done earlier at Green Spring Furnace and Fort Frederick Forge along the upper Potomac River. As described by William E. Hutchinson, "The Johnson Family Enterprises Near Sugarloaf Mountain" *Journal of the Historical Society of Frederick County*, 2(1995): 1–7, their works included the

Catoctin Furnace on Little Hunting Creek, the Bush Creek Forge, a splitting and rolling mill on Bush Creek, the Bloomsbury Forge on Bennett Creek, and the Johnson Furnace on Furnace Branch. If improved, the Monocacy River could have served as a transportation route from ore bank to furnace, furnace to forge, and forge to rolling mill or market. With the exception of the Johnson Furnace, the Johnson's iron-making establishments were situated miles from the Monocacy, on small non-navigable tributaries. Hutchinson noted that the pig iron from Johnson's furnace (built c.1785) was hauled overland to the Bloomsbury Forge (built 1789). Wagons carried the forged products to market. "The apparent oddity" of the forge's "location with respect to the furnace, nine miles around the mountain, is presumably explained by its easy access to the Frederick and the Georgetown-Frederick Turnpike." Thomas Johnson established his Etna glass factory on Tuscarora Creek, north of Frederick, around 1776 and later built another glass works on Bush Creek. Amelung's glass factory on Bennett Creek is better known. See Dorothy Mackay Quynn, "Johann Friedrich Amelung at New Bremen," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 43 (1948): 155–79. After Amelung's bankruptcy in 1799 his associate, Adam Kohlenberg, operated the glass works for about ten years. By 1810, the Fleecy Dale Woolen Factory had established its carding and roller mill on Bennett Creek, site of the first glass works.

19. Potomac Company Records.

20. Minutes for Potomac Company meetings of August 27, 1802, September 13, 1803, and September 17, 1803, Potomac Company Records. The advertisement for laborers appeared in the August 12 and 19, 1803, *Bartgis's Republican Gazette*.

21. Potomac Company Records; The *National Intelligencer* quote (date unspecified) is from the "Observations of the Intended Canal in Washington City: City of Washington, 1804," reproduced in *Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington D.C.*, 8 (1905): 59–166.

22. Potomac Company Records. On January 4, 1807, the legislature passed a new act once again declaring fish dams a nuisance to navigation and outlawing them on the Monocacy below Double Pipe Creek. *Arch.Md.Online*, 608:45–46

23. Potomac Company Records; W. E. Trout, III, *The Shenandoah River Atlas* (Front Royal, Va.: The Friends of the Shenandoah River, 1997) presents details of Leonard Harbaugh's Shenandoah works and other histories of Shenandoah River navigation.

24. 1808 Mason to Gallatin, and 1817 Mason to Peyton reports, Potomac Company Records.

25. The Davis family owned mills near Buckeystown that dated back to 1739 (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory and notes from John McGrain). Dennis Griffith's 1794 and 1795 maps of the State of Maryland showed a "Davis" mill along a tributary of the Monocacy. Charles Varle's 1808 map indicated an unnamed mill at this site. The August 29, 1812, *Frederick Town Herald* mentioned the "now building" merchant mill at Davis's Falls in a public notice for a proposed road from Jefferson to New Market, Maryland. Christian Kemp and Daniel Buckley purchased Davis's mill in 1825, and it was sometimes referred to as "Kemp's Mill" (one of several so called in Maryland). It was also known as "Monocacy Mills," as shown on D. J. Lake's 1873 map of the Buckeystown District in his *Atlas of Frederick County Maryland*. Leo Michael operated the mill until 1957 and it is now known as Michael's Mill. The mill and mill dam remain today, but the dam is in disrepair. Charles Varle's 1808 map showed Griffith's Falls on the Monocacy, and an unnamed mill on a tributary above the falls. Isaac McPherson built the merchant mill at the falls in 1827 and his estate offered it for sale in 1831. The area would later be known as "Greenfield Mills," with a post office sharing this name near the site (Maryland Historical Trust Inventory and notes from John McGrain). D. Lake's 1873 map showed Greenfield Mills and its dam across the river. Fire destroyed the mill in the 1890s. The mill and dam are gone, but traces of the millrace and iron rods to secure the dam to bedrock

can still be found. The Potomac Company records document both Davis's and McPherson's dams, but unfortunately no longer contain Ignatius Davis's report on the "improvement of navigation" at his mill.

26. The Maryland legislature passed the act incorporating the C&O Canal on February 24, 1824, *Arch.Md.Online*, 628:77. The act creating the Board of Public Works passed into law on March 4, 1826, *Arch.Md.Online*, 402:141. Alan M. Wilner, *The Maryland Board of Public Works: A History* (Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission, 1984) discusses the need for the board, including the plan for a Potomac to Baltimore canal.

27. Isaac Briggs, *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Examine into the Practicability of a Canal from Baltimore to the Potomac, together with the Engineer's Report* (Baltimore, 1823); Isaac Trimble, *Report of the Engineer Appointed by the Commissioners of the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore, on the Subject of the Maryland Canal* (Baltimore, 1837); Charles B. Fisk and George W. Hughes, *Report on the Examination of Canal Routes from the Potomac River to the City of Baltimore, Especially in Relationship to the Supply of Water from their Summit Levels* (Annapolis, 1837); John James Abert, *Report in Reference to the Canal to Connect the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal with the City of Baltimore* (1838, printed in Washington D.C., 1874); See Walter S. Sanderlin, *The Great National Project* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1946), 172–77, for a discussion of these surveys and other routes considered for the Potomac to Baltimore canal.

28. The Frederick citizens meeting was reported in the August 16, 1828, *Frederick-Town Herald*. See also Williams, *History of Frederick County*, 174. Boats from the Monocacy River could have connected to the C&O Canal by continuing down stream on the Potomac from the Monocacy's mouth to the canal's river lock opposite Goose Creek, a relatively smooth eleven-mile stretch. The amount of such traffic is not known.

29. The 1833 Monocacy fish dam act is reproduced in *The General Public Statutory Law and Public Local Law of the State of Maryland*, Vol. II, Frederick County (printed by John D. Toy, Baltimore, 1840), 1923–24. The act remained unchanged in 1860, 1888, and 1930 publications of the *Maryland Code of Public Local Laws*.

30. Potomac Company Records; Bacon-Foster, *Early Chapters*, 111. Susan Winter Frye, "Evolution of Mill Settlement Patterns in the Antietam Drainage Washington County, Maryland" (master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1984), discusses the evolution of small local "custom mills" to larger merchant mills designed to produce flour for export.

31. *Arch.Md.Online*, 614:238–39.

32. Potomac Company Records. The advertisement for stone masons was in the *Maryland Herald and Hagerstown Weekly Advertiser* on January 29, February 5, and February 12, 1812. The second advertisement regarding loan payments was in the *Maryland Herald and Hagerstown Weekly Advertiser* on April 18, April 15, and April 29, 1812, and in the *Hagerstown Gazette* on April 7, 1812. When appointed superintendent in 1810, Thomson had responsibilities for repairing the major Potomac River works and also "to enter into contracts with individual store move the obsticals [sic] on the Shenandoah and Potowmack and the Conegocheauge which obstruct the Navigation at high water . . . provided he can make such contracts on terms reasonable in price." The Potomac Company records sometimes read "Thompson," and sometimes "Josiah." Advertisements presumably written by the superintendent were signed "Josias Thomson."

33. Potomac Company Records.

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Ibid.*; *A Journal of Accounts and etc., Thomas Harbaugh with the Potomac Company and other from 1803 to 1833* (written circa 1833, copies at the Hagerstown Library Western Maryland

Room). Thomas Harbaugh's *Journal* presents detailed accounts of his projects, including the Antietam effort. On page 77 of his *Journal*, Harbaugh refers the reader to material he sent to John Mason, Potomac Company president, in 1818 that gave detailed descriptions of "the Locks and the Creek." This apparently is the fifteen-page *Memorandum of the Antietam Creek* now in Potomac Company records at the National Archives, signed by Harbaugh but undated. Thomas had helped his father, Leonard Harbaugh, build the Shenandoah River works and served afterwards as its toll collector.

36. Potomac Company Records. The notice was placed in the *Maryland Herald and Hagerstown Weekly Advertiser* on May 10, May 31, and June 14, 1815. The Potomac Company directors also planned to place similar notices in the *Federal Republican* and a newspaper "in Lancaster."

37. Mason to Peyton, 1817, Potomac Company Records.

38. Thomas Harbaugh, *Journal and Memoranda*, 24–27, 77.

39. John W. Stonebraker bought Shafer's mills and factories in 1859 and briefly turned them into a paper mill. Afterwards, he made large additions to Shafer's old mill and established the Antietam Flour Milling Company. See David E. Wiles, *Antietam Paper Company: Spanning the Years* (Hagerstown, Md.: Antietam Paper Company, Inc., 1982). John Stonebraker's son Joseph wrote about his father's mill. See Joseph Stonebraker, *A Rebel of '61* (New York: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1899), 19–20. "In 1812, the company built two locks, and connected the two dams by digging a canal some eight hundred feet long. The boat which was about one hundred feet long, gondola shape, sharp at both ends, without a deck, was loaded with one hundred and twenty-five barrels of flour, passed safely through the canal and lock, but was wrecked while passing into the lower dam, and the cargo became a complete loss. This accident so discouraged the company that the project was abandoned and Shafer afterward utilized the canal by building a saw and cement mill over the locks." This account, repeated in an article on Johnston's Island (Funkstown) in the August 4, 1970, *Morning Herald*, may be inaccurate.

40. Dan Guzy, "The Potomac Company's Canal and Locks at Little Falls," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 96 (2001): 421–37.



Harford County legislator William Pinkney (1764–1822) argued in favor of a liberal emancipation bill for Maryland's slaves. (Maryland Historical Society.)

Slavery in Maryland in the Age of Revolution, 1775–1790

WILLIAM L. CALDERHEAD

In the 1920s, historians began to revise their analysis of the American past. This new look continued through the twentieth century and applied in a particular way to the institution of slavery. John Franklin Jameson, John Hope Franklin, Winthrop D. Jordan, and others suggested that the Enlightenment spirit, galvanized by the Revolution, could have abolished slavery and, that in fact, came very close to doing so. Years later, that view appears unrealistic and misleading.¹

David Brion Davis put matters into proper focus when he challenged these earlier critics, noting that “historians underestimated the economic strength of slavery in the Revolutionary period, exaggerated the force of antislavery sentiment in the Upper South, and minimized the obstacles the abolitionists faced.” Davis’s point is a valid one: the dramatic liberal impulse of the 1770s and the 1780s was important only in that it foreshadowed the antebellum abolition movement. It is, nevertheless, tempting to imagine what might have happened if the slave state of Maryland, with the second largest slave population in North America at the time of the Revolution, had in some way managed to do what her northern sisters had done—end slavery by state decree. Such an act would have bettered the lives of the state’s 103,000 slaves and their unborn children. Subsequently, Maryland might also have played an entirely different role on the eve of the Civil War.²

Maryland stood in a far different position on the eve of that conflict than it had in the aftermath of the Revolution. After seventy years of gradual and voluntary manumission, the state was no longer typically southern, no longer a state in which slavery was deeply entrenched. By 1860 its black population was half slave and half free, a change that suggested to critics in the South that slavery, left to its own devices, was a dying institution. In noting this development in Maryland and in nearby Delaware, political leaders of the lower South were prepared to risk a civil war to protect the institution of slavery and particularly its right to survive by expansion into the West.³

To understand these developments, one must begin long before 1860 and examine what transpired in Maryland in the critical Revolutionary period. It is useful to compare the state’s position regarding slavery and freedom with that of her northern neighbors in the same fifteen-year span. Beginning in 1780, before

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the Revolution had been won, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts passed laws ending slavery within their borders. A decade later only two northern states, New York and New Jersey, had not yet enacted similar laws. Support for abolition in both was considerable.

In Maryland and Delaware, by contrast, antislavery movements had become strong enough over the preceding fifteen years that proponents compelled the state legislatures in 1789 and 1790 to face the issue and make a decision on the future of slavery. Neither chose to abolish the institution, even on a gradual basis, as New York and New Jersey eventually did. Yet Maryland and Delaware both passed measures that made it easier for owners to free their slaves while protecting the interests and property of those who opposed a general manumission law. Liberals in all four states felt strong pressure from those who wished to preserve the status quo. In 1775, Maryland had 90,000 slaves, the second largest slave population in the British North American mainland colonies. Delaware had only 8,000 bondsmen. In Maryland sheer numbers all but guaranteed that its citizens would not and could not pass a measure granting freedom to slaves. Yet in spite of this, the antislavery interests in the Old Line State made a surprising effort to do just that. This paper examines that effort in the years following the outbreak of the American Revolution.⁴

In analyzing the revolutionary era, one must first examine the colony's population as it was enumerated in two censuses. The first was the Crown's census in 1755, taken under colonial governor Horatio Sharpe.⁵ The second was the first census of the new United States, collected in 1790. Taken together, they offer a revealing picture of the dramatic growth in the number of slaves in Maryland in that thirty-five year period. In 1755 the colony had just 41,000 slaves. By 1790 that number had grown to 103,000—an increase of 62,000 in just one generation. The number of "free persons of color" grew from 1,815 to 8,043. The rapidly increasing number of slaves clearly surpassed the number of those gaining their freedom. This divergence would have been far greater but for the fact that the Revolutionary War ushered in a dramatic increase in manumission activity. Even more importantly, the growing number of slaves, and the powerful interest of those who owned them through the three decades to 1790, almost guaranteed that antislavery forces would not succeed.

To gauge the impact of the Revolution one must first determine the number of free blacks living in Maryland when the war began and compare that figure with the total number in 1790. There is no official figure for 1775, but if one counts those who were born free to parents already free and adds that number to those who had gained their freedom between 1755 and 1775 by regular deed, the total increase might come to about nine hundred, giving an estimated total for 1775 of 2,715 free blacks at the start of the war. The next fifteen years saw this number increase by 5,543. Many were children, possibly 2,400, born to free mothers. The remainder

(3,050) were manumitted in that short time. It is the status of this group that will now be discussed.⁶

In the half-century preceding the Revolution, Maryland colonial law permitted slaveowners to release their slaves by way of a regular deed of manumission or by last will and testament. The latter option was withdrawn in 1752 when the legislature concluded that certain features of the law were being abused. In any event, Marylanders exercised these rights infrequently. In the fifty years before the war probably no more than eighty acts of manumission had been filed, freeing perhaps three hundred slaves. Manumitters did not cite reasons for their actions, and the pattern of their activity was quite random. The first year of the Revolution saw little change. Maryland adopted a policy to free slaves who had served in the military, and in only a handful of cases was freedom denied after service, but in fact few slaves actually gained freedom by this means. When the Maryland Bill of Rights was adopted in 1776, it did not declare, as did some states, including Virginia, that all men were free and equal.⁷

Three religious denominations—Quakers, Methodists, and Nicholites—did give depth and direction to this random pre-war manumission activity. The first two were active on Maryland's Eastern Shore and in Anne Arundel, Baltimore, Harford, and Frederick Counties. Yet they made up less than one-eighth of the state's population. Although their minority status precluded their ability to sway political activity or social trends, they did, at the proper moment, figure prominently in channeling this new liberal spirit.⁸

Quaker abolition efforts began in the 1760s when the membership discouraged purchasing or trading slaves. Attempts to eliminate slavery outright among the membership met resistance until 1777, but in the next five years, nearly all Quakers manumitted their slaves. It would be tempting to believe that the Revolution influenced their actions, but no evidence exists to support such a conclusion. The drive to manumit was based on moral grounds and actually began several years before the war. Members certainly expressed no causal relationship between the war and their manumission activity.⁹ Still, the larger effect cannot be ignored. Although Quakers' efforts were directed toward only their own membership—and the impetus would end with the success of that effort—they set an example for all of Maryland in three respects. First, they established that an organized group could carry out such a project on principle alone. Second, they demonstrated that the legal act of manumission was simple and inexpensive. Third, the results proved that new freedmen could successfully adjust to freedom.

Quaker opposition to slavery served as an example to their Eastern Shore neighbors, the Nicholites and the Methodists. The former Protestant group, led by Joseph Nichols, and influenced by the preaching of John Woolman, began freeing their slaves in the late 1760s. They were few in number, and their impact on manumission was not great. Methodists, by contrast, became the dominant reli-

gious force on much of the Eastern Shore, but took no official position regarding slavery until the Baltimore Conference in April 1780. They then declared that slavery was "contrary to the laws of God, man, and nature, and hurtful to society."¹⁰

Although Quakers and Methodists opposed slavery primarily on religious grounds rather than in the secular humanitarian spirit of the Revolution, other Marylanders reacted to that spirit in ways that are quantitatively measurable. First, a pronounced shift occurred in the phraseology that manumitters used on the frequent occasions they cited reasons for their actions. In the 1770s they listed moral or Christian motivation for their deeds, but by the early 1780s they cited legalistic and/or political reasons. Before the Revolution manumitters explained that "slavery was repugnant to the precepts of the Gospel" or "to the principles of Christianity." By the war's end and immediately after, the explanation had broadened and included such views as "liberty is the birthright of all" or liberty was a feature of "the glorious Revolution that has lately taken place." Manumitters still had religious reasons, and sometimes gave no reason at all, but the new egalitarian views found expression. In Anne Arundel County, for example, from 1782 to 1787, half of those who freed slaves described freedom as a natural right of man. The change is even more apparent when seen in individuals who manumitted slaves over a period of time. Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, for example, said nothing when he granted freedom in 1784 but clearly noted the importance of human rights in 1787.¹¹

A second, and more dramatic, effect can be seen in the total number of slaves freed during the war years. The Eastern Shore witnessed the most activity—362 slaves gained their freedom. The five tobacco counties, with the largest slave populations in the state, followed when owners freed 275 people. Eighty-five slaves found freedom in the Piedmont region. At least forty were freed in Baltimore County. Another 150 left slavery through last wills and testaments. The eight years of the American Revolution saw the liberation of 952 Maryland slaves. For a war that was not fought to free black men, this is arguably an impressive figure.¹²

Although much of this manumission effort was religiously motivated, much of it was not. When Quakers, whose efforts were substantially completed by 1780, are removed from this group, there remains a sizable number of slaves who were released for non-religious reasons. As the Quaker efforts account for probably no more than 450 of the total, it would be safe to conclude that humanitarian reasons motivated many of the remaining acts of manumission. Further, assuming that those who said nothing had some motivation and that their increased activity was due partly to the war, it might be concluded that possibly three hundred slaves were freed as a direct consequence of the Revolution. This leaves 252 slaves released for undetermined reasons. Either way, these figures are substantial, particularly when compared to the general manumission activities of free states such as New York and New Jersey during these same years.¹³

The statistics lead to two important observations. First, until at least 1783, the immediate impact of the revolutionary spirit in Maryland was secondary to long range effects such as religion. Additionally, and more importantly, a trend had started in which the number of freed slaves tripled, compared to the seventy-five years before the war.

Some mention must also be made of economic motivation as a reason for freeing slaves. Economics certainly had some effect on planters' thinking, but those issues were hardly dominant. Two developments taking place in Maryland greatly altered the economics of slavery. First, wheat production was supplanting tobacco production on the Eastern Shore and the western fringes of the upper Chesapeake. Wheat cultivation required less slave labor. Furthermore, the state was feeling the effects of postwar economic depression. Slaveowners might be expected to have reacted by ridding themselves of expensive human property by whatever means were at hand, a strategy they did employ in Virginia and parts of Maryland in the downturn of the 1830s. Yet that was not the case in the 1780s. Two kinds of evidence bear this out. First, owners freed only able bodied slaves (a requirement by law), and secondly, slave prices held firm. This was especially true in counties where manumission activity was greatest—Talbot, Baltimore, and Anne Arundel—and where large numbers of Quakers resided. Some masters may have been tempted to release their slaves because prices were not rising, but they were certainly not cutting losses. Slaves were not only considered assets, but an act of manumission in the 1780s was looked upon as a generous gesture.¹⁴

A second area in which the humanitarian spirit manifested itself, the spectrum of master-slave relationships, deserves examination. New trends were discernible in the improved treatment of slaves, in the stronger determination on the part of slaves to acquire freedom, and in their new propensity to use legal means to become free.

To what extent the war made slaveowners more tolerant masters is difficult to determine. Whatever improved treatment occurred perhaps stemmed as much from necessity or fear as it did from any degree of enlightenment. John Francis Mercer, for example, a planter with property in Virginia and Maryland, noted in 1782 that "unless the situation of these poor devils is rendered supportable," the slave system could not be sustained. Although any broad improvement of the slave's lot cannot be measured statistically, trends are evident. For example, those who had been involved in the pre-war sale of slaves had shown little concern about breaking up families. By the 1780s that attitude was changing, and many owners now expressed a deliberate intent to keep families together. A second trend came in the practice of hiring out slaves. Earlier in the century, as a means of social control, hiring out by the owners was not encouraged and self-hiring was prohibited. The war, with its economic and social changes, modified this practice. Not only did owners permit self-hiring, but the slave was allowed to be hired out over

much longer periods of time and at locations that were a substantial distance from home. Occasionally owners would even request that their charges be given favorable consideration in their efforts to hire themselves out. Critics of this practice in the next generation would remind society that such activity was one step short of freedom.¹⁵

To many slave owners the word "freedom" created a problem. A leading argument for proslavery forces involved the question of whether slaves, without an education or skills, could live as free men. Most owners probably believed that this was all but impossible—hence the thought of granting freedom was out of the question. In Maryland during the revolutionary period, three examples emerged to prove that free blacks could and did make a success of their lives. Considering the handicaps that society placed on them, the degree to which they succeeded is all the more remarkable. Interestingly their achievements came in three quite different walks of life.

The first of these successes was Thomas Carney, who served as a soldier in Washington's Continental Line from 1778 to the end of the war in 1783. A free black who had enlisted voluntarily, he was cited for bravery on two occasions. On one of these he saved the life of his commanding officer. After the war he lived an exemplary life, was awarded a special pension in 1812 by the state legislature, and died a respected farmer in 1820.¹⁶

The second figure was Charity Folks, a slave living on the John Ridout plantation in Anne Arundel County. As a reward for risking her own life while nursing back to health one of the Ridout daughters who was ill with a contagious disease, Charity, along with her own daughters, was granted her freedom in the late 1790s. She then moved to Annapolis and spent the rest of her life with her oldest daughter and her husband, William Bishop, also a former slave. The latter became one of the city's most successful businessmen by the decade of the 1850s.¹⁷

The third and most prominent figure was Benjamin Banneker. Born into a free black family in Baltimore County in 1743, he spent his life as a farmer on a small plot of land just southwest of Baltimore. But it was not farming that gave him special notoriety. With the help and encouragement of a neighbor, George Ellicott, Banneker became a skilled mathematician and astronomer. His expertise in these disciplines led to his appointment in 1791 as an assistant in the survey of the federal district where the new national capital was to be built. In speaking out about the evils of slavery, Banneker cited (in a 1791 letter to Thomas Jefferson) not only his own concern for the plight of blacks living in slavery but his own success "as proof of the accomplishments of which free African Americans were capable."¹⁸

The extent to which Carney, Folks, Bishop, and Banneker moved the hearts and minds of those who supported slavery cannot be determined. For those owners with an open mind, they were perhaps convincing. But there were many oth-

ers, who, for whatever reason, failed to live up to the expectations of society or the hopes of their benefactors.

The Revolution would also cause black men as well as white to ponder the whole question of freedom. Maryland's 90,000 slaves, like their brethren in Virginia, were deeply moved by the natural rights philosophy of the war. Their thoughts are unknown, but an article appearing in a Baltimore newspaper probably spoke for many Maryland slaves when it asked, "Do the rights of nature cease to apply when a Negro is to enjoy them? Or does patriotism in the heart of the African rankle into treason?" Such feeling found means for expression and among other things led to an increase in the number of runaways in the state in the 1780s. But more important than the numbers was the quality of the new effort. Slaves who had been "completely faithful" for years suddenly departed. Others now "were determined to be free at any cost," as one master observed. Some attempted to escape as frequently as nine or ten times in as many years. Shrewdness accompanied the new determination. When questioned, slaves deliberately mentioned a Methodist or a Quaker master (often falsely) who had given them freedom. They also headed north where, as one master noted, "he would be entitled to his freedom." Escape was made easier by the larger numbers of blacks obtaining legal freedom; runaways were less conspicuous on public roadways than had been true before the Revolution. By the 1780s newspapers were heavily sprinkled with accounts of runaways passing as free.¹⁹

Even before the Revolution, as the number of free people of color increased, it was becoming easier for runaways to pass as free. In 1755, for example, there were in Maryland nearly 1,400 free mulattoes, most of whom were children and, due to their listed age, probably born free. Just over two thousand mulattoes remained in slavery, over 1,200 of them children. More than nine hundred blacks were listed as free, but only 188 were over age sixteen. No records survive concerning the numbers of both free mulattoes and free blacks twenty years later in 1775, but it would be safe to assume that both groups had increased meaningfully.

Free adult mulattoes were in a position to help many who were still in slavery, especially those who were their close relatives. The limited number of regular manumission records precludes certain proof that this pattern occurred, though the official records may not tell the whole story. In both Maryland and Delaware an owner could grant his slave freedom simply by letting him "pass as free," even though that was a legally risky procedure.²⁰ In contrast, when a testator wrote his will to free a slave who was a relative, he often indicated the blood relationship. Since this legal instrument was banned between 1752 and 1790, the only instrument that remained was the regular deed, on which the owner generally did not indicate any blood tie. As a result there may have been numerous occasions when the relationship existed but was not indicated.²¹

Another way to obtain freedom—without the help of a relative—was by pur-

chasing it, a practice that became fairly common in the 1820s and 1830s but was rare during the Revolutionary War years. In Anne Arundel County, for example, court clerks recorded twenty-seven acts of manumission between 1784 and 1790, acts which freed 114 slaves. Just two of these cases involved a free black husband who purchased his wife. Limited income among free blacks placed this option out of reach for most. Ironically many owners freed their slaves because they had no further need for their labor. New freedmen had to compete for work with those still in bondage. Some found occasional work hiring themselves out to their former masters, often at a wage lower than the cost of keeping them enslaved. Those who had the greatest chance of succeeding in freedom were those with a skill such as blacksmithing. That very skill, however, lessened their chances of gaining their freedom.²²

Maryland, like the rest of the South, faced the menace of an invading army, but in its case the threat came by water. The Chesapeake Bay split the state into two regions, east and west, and the waters of the bay, as well as the small tributaries that flowed into it, exposed much of the state to British naval operations. Tobacco grew in this tidewater region where the largest portion of Maryland's slave population lived and worked.²³

As the war progressed and the British enemy made several large scale forays into the area, Maryland's slaves reacted dramatically. The first invasion came in 1775. Lord Dunmore raided the Virginia and Maryland areas of the bay with seven hundred former Virginia slaves serving as soldiers. Dunmore intended neither to provoke Maryland's slaves nor to rescue them—he simply planned to carry out a military raid. The next incursion had a far different outcome. In 1777 more than two hundred British ships came into the bay to escort General William Howe's invading army. The general planned to land at the head of Elk Creek, then proceed northward to attack and capture Philadelphia. The fleet moved slowly, taking a week or more to cover the 190 miles to Elk Creek. Marylanders on both shores seized their movable property and fled inland to escape the enemy and its marauding parties. Large numbers of slaves carelessly left behind saw their opportunity to escape. As the British flotilla sailed close to shore, slaves "in a desperate gamble for freedom swam through the tossing waters or maneuvered tiny boats in order to board the large vessels."²⁴

Because the Royal Navy did not yet have a policy for dealing with runaways, the slaves ended up on the supply ships and the dozen or so privateers that brought up the rear of the fleet. Their fate is unknown, but most were probably sold into slavery on the West Indian sugar islands. A precedent was now set for the privateers. Like jackals on the African savannahs, they avoided the stronger American ships now dispatched to patrol the bay and spent their time rounding up unwary slaves who believed they were gaining their freedom. In late 1777 and again in 1779, British naval units combed the Chesapeake. This time Royal Navy ships had ob-

tained the right to take runaway slaves. The few American naval forces now operating in the bay were too weak to interfere. Sadly, even though these slaves who had not yet fled had now learned of the possible dangers that awaited them, "so consuming was the slave's desire for freedom" that they took their chances and boarded British ships when the opportunity came.²⁵

The last incursion into Maryland waters came in early 1781 after Benedict Arnold, now on the British side, landed with a large force in northern Virginia. In March his men probed as far north as Baltimore and its tributaries. Local authorities reacted with small, ineffective militia companies. In March 1781 two dozen or more concerned citizens, including William Paca of Annapolis and Matthew Tilghman and Edward Lloyd (who had large slaveholdings in Talbot County and other counties on the bay) agreed to provide a vessel to patrol the narrow waters off Kent Island to warn of future incursions. By that time, the maritime threat had moved southward to Virginia waters, and the menace to the upper bay had come to an end.²⁶

How many Maryland slaves escaped will never be known. Historians have estimated that when the entire South is taken into account, the number of lost slaves hovers somewhere between 80,000 and 100,000. Most lived in states south of Maryland. The 5 percent of these who escaped Maryland slavery, an estimated 5,000, is impressive in two respects. First, the number of slaves freed by their masters (900 or more) pales by comparison. Secondly, whereas the slave's role in manumission was basically passive, that changed when he deliberately sought his freedom and knowing the danger, risked his life.

The loss of slaves to British maritime operations, combined with the belief that free blacks were aiding runaways, played into the hands of the state's powerful proslavery forces. In addition to newspaper articles and speeches in which advocates of slavery attempted to rebut the growing antislavery elements, the former group called attention to another phenomenon, one that reinforced their position. Paradoxically, Washington's army, in fighting the war to gain independence from England, was an army in which officers who fought to gain their own freedom showed indifference to such a need for America's slaves.²⁷

David Brion Davis argues that the warrior, in the very act of fighting (and winning), performs an act that justifies his right to be a slave owner. The wartime experiences and behavior of the Maryland Line's higher ranking officers tend to bear this out. When this force of three thousand men went south in the spring of 1780 to save Charleston and hold the enemy in check, most of the senior officers not only owned slaves but found themselves in a position to acquire more as "booty of war." The list included Generals Horatio Gates, William Smallwood, and Mordecai Gist, as well as Colonels Carvel Hall, John Gunby, and Nathan Ramsay. Otho Williams, who soon gained promotion to general and command of the Maryland Line, was an exception and declared in 1781 that he opposed slavery.

Nine years later, he had purchased eight slaves and had no qualms in becoming a master.²⁸

The fighting in the South offered many opportunities for acquiring additional slaves. After the American victory at Cowpens, South Carolina, in January 1781, when the British were forced to flee, the winners' prize included "100 valuable horses, 70 slaves and . . . plenty of hard money." General Daniel Morgan, a close friend of Otho Williams, took three of the slaves home with him to Virginia. The fate of the other sixty-seven slaves is unknown. Some were no doubt returned to their patriot owners. Others were likely sold for cash. Officers of the Maryland Line and the Virginia and North Carolina state units who shared the victory probably claimed the remaining bondsmen.²⁹

British army units operating in the South were even more prone than the Americans to assert their "right" to claim slaves as a form of booty. In early 1781, when General Cornwallis prepared to leave South Carolina in pursuit of Nathanael Greene's retreating American forces, a surprisingly large number of slaves who had been left behind on local farms, attempted to join his force. Cornwallis's reaction was to "expel those that the army could not profitably use," and after many of his officers resisted this order, he relented. A short time later, after losing the battle of Guilford Courthouse (March 1781), it was the British turn to retreat. Large numbers of slaves left with the army, and Johann Ewald, a Hessian officer, noted that "every soldier had his Negro who carried his provisions and bundles . . . [and] since the number of free people of color increased every officer had four to six horses and three or four Negroes." Most of these slaves never gained their freedom. A goodly number were sold into slavery to British planters in the West Indies, and many of those who were still with Cornwallis at Yorktown died of disease and malnutrition by the time the British surrendered.²⁹

Another group of "foreign officers" must also be considered—the French, who had crossed the Atlantic to help the Americans gain their freedom. Some were soldiers of fortune, often deemed nuisances, who occasionally caused dissension among their American allies.³⁰ Others made a dramatic contribution to the American cause. Almost to a man, these European soldiers opposed slavery and, perhaps moved by noting the dedication and bravery of the African American soldier, spoke out against the evils of American servitude. Lafayette's view was representative of these men. He spoke his mind to General Washington and others at headquarters on the wrongs of slavery, but it appears that his views did not convince anyone. Nevertheless, Washington was moved enough by his young associate's reasoning that he confessed in writing to his overseer that he longed "more and more to get clear of [his] Negroes." As Lafayette discovered, ending slavery was a time-consuming process. In 1824, forty or more years after the war had ended, Lafayette returned to America to meet with old friends and relive the days of glory of his youth. On his visit to Baltimore he stood before a large wel-

coming crowd and expressed the hope that the city's four thousand slaves would soon be free.³¹

Although most Maryland officers failed to recognize the right to freedom regardless of color, other possibilities remained for changing the status quo once the war had ended. Growing numbers of free blacks encouraged and sheltered slave relatives who tried to escape, but, more ominously to slavery men, whites also began to aid the runaways. Additionally some slaves found an alternative to flight through legal action in the Maryland court system.

Before the Revolution there had been little chance for slaves to appear as plaintiffs, but now three groups with grievances obtained legal redress. The first of these had served as soldiers but not gained their freedom. Unlike their counterparts in Virginia, they made little headway in their appeal. The second group included those slaves who could show technical flaws in their conditions of bondage. Although few were successful, they at least obtained a hearing in court. Greater success came for the third group. Although colonial law had declared that mulatto children had to serve thirty-one years before gaining freedom, many owners had successfully ignored this clause. Beginning in the 1780s these victims obtained lawyers, filed their cases, and occasionally won their freedom. T. Stephen Whitman discusses a meaningful court case in this category that involved a mulatto woman, Mary Butler, who lost her first suit for freedom but won her freedom in 1787 under the state's new legal system. Three other plaintiffs in that same decade were less successful. The following decade (1790s) brought about a change—four out of fourteen plaintiffs gained freedom.³²

Despite such gains, and unlike northern abolitionists who moved to the forefront of reform, the antislavery question had not yet become of such concern to Marylanders that it aroused interest and entered the political arena. The next seven years witnessed a dramatic change. Two important developments gave it substance and direction. First, religious leaders became dedicated to abolition, and second, a broad propaganda campaign designed to sway public opinion got under way.

The religious groups acted first. Quakers, who had already eliminated slavery among their own membership, now made two important decisions. They would take steps to end slaveholding for all Marylanders and not just members of their own faith. They recognized that non-Quakers saw social and humanitarian wrongs in slaveholding and changed their tactics in appealing to them. This was an important shift. Marylanders who had not been moved previously by religious arguments now saw the logic of the new humanitarianism in the wake of the Revolution.³³

The Methodist Church in Maryland had already adopted this strategy. They went on record in 1780 as opposing slavery on humanitarian as well as religious grounds. Four years later at their Christmas Conference in Baltimore, the leader-

ship agreed to act immediately "to extirpate this abomination among us." Ministers, they added, could not hold slaves. This new stand coincided with a vigorous expansion of membership throughout the state, and growth came largely in those areas with substantial Quaker followings. In addition to stressing humanitarian as well as theological views, the new emphasis "on the idealism of liberty awakened by the Revolution" brought many willing manumitters into the fold. Methodists now began to free their own slaves, sustaining the momentum of manumission activity that Quakers had so effectively begun in the 1770s and facilitating the political support of manumission.

The first round of political activity took place in the 1783 and 1784 sessions of the new Maryland state legislature and constituted a victory for what might now be called the antislavery cause. In 1783, with only moderate opposition, the legislature passed a law prohibiting the international slave trade to operate in Maryland. Encouraged perhaps by the degree of support the law generated, the Quakers sponsored a series of petitions from ten Maryland counties proposing that the state adopt a plan of gradual emancipation. In voting to consider the petitions, the House of Delegates rejected them by a margin of 32 to 22, with most of the liberal strength coming from those ten counties. Although the petitions did not carry, the degree of liberal support was substantial and reflected the fact that a new day had dawned in Maryland.³⁴

The new spirit was also apparent at the grass roots level. In 1784 a wellspring of manumission activity burst forth. In that year 139 blacks across the state gained freedom through the courts. In 1785 the number jumped to 199. For many it was more than a mere legal gesture. One owner noted that it gave him "much pleasure," and he felt certain that it would bring "pleasure to others in effecting the freedom of the poor African." The momentum slowed in 1786, coincident with two setbacks in the legislature: a refusal to consider a bill to restore the right to manumit by last will and a new law that restricted owners from letting their slaves "pass" as if they were free. Since this activity required no legal document, such as a freedom certificate, the number of those who used it cannot be determined. After this counter reaction, the forces of freedom made surprising gains over the next several years.³⁵

A new level of resolve and determination fueled the drive for freedom. In 1787, the Quakers supplied that resolve. The year began like its predecessor when the state legislature rejected the annual petition opposing slavery.³⁶ But the Committee on Suffering of the Friends who had lobbied for the measure and who were optimistic of success were "so sorely affected" that they determined not to be rebuffed a second time. Shortly afterward, the entire membership of the Maryland Friends was jolted by the wording of a letter received from the Meeting of Friends in Philadelphia, who contrasted the recent antislavery successes in the Pennsylvania legislature with the near total failure in Maryland. Although the comparison

was unfair, since Pennsylvania posed fewer obstacles to abolition, the letter goaded local Quakers into making a sweeping resolution to present to the next legislature that included a special memorial on slavery.³⁷

A veritable propaganda campaign accompanied these efforts to mobilize the nascent antislavery feeling throughout the state. Personal letters and conversations were no doubt effective vehicles, but the most dramatic evidence of these efforts came in the form of newspaper articles. From its earliest days, the Maryland press had been silent on the matter of antislavery; now, in the five years prior to 1790, several types of articles appeared that dealt with that formerly subversive theme. These included news items about local or national Quaker activities and private manumission efforts. Although culled from English writers and journals, the articles were strikingly apropos. Even more to the point were feature articles dealing with slavery in Maryland. The "declared principles of the American revolution," as one article noted, were now used as a means to directly attack slavery. Newspapers also cited authorities on the subject of slavery. Interestingly, portions of a forthcoming book by Gustavus Vasa, whom modern critics consider the most renowned freedman in colonial America, were reproduced to demonstrate the glory of becoming free and the importance of according freedom to others. Some local propaganda material was also used, and in 1789 extracts from Jefferson's Notes on the State of Virginia, suppressed in the South because of its inflammatory nature, appeared in a feature article. The writer, after noting the evils of slavery, ended with Jefferson's prophecy: "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just."³⁸

One cannot escape the fact that this material was for its time strikingly bold, which raises two pertinent questions. First, was this effort to persuade part of a concerted plan, and if so, by whom? It was indeed an organized project, the brain-child of Quaker Elisha Tyson. Tyson, a Baltimore merchant, worked with others in the city's community of Friends and "aroused the zeal of others" to do likewise. Only a few of the area's publishers were willing to print the material. Chief among them was William Goddard, an eccentric individualist from Connecticut, whose Baltimore Advertiser carried numerous articles supporting the cause. Secondly, one might ask, to what extent was this material read and believed by the citizens of Maryland? Significantly, they seemed willing to listen. The papers mentioned that a given article "inserted in our last, had been much admired." Marylanders also pondered Jefferson's Notes, and at least two justified their own acts of manumission by quoting that sage's prophecy in their last wills that "God is just." A Maryland observer writing forty years after these events summed up the relevance of the newspaper articles and declared that it was "in this way that public feeling became so softened and the prejudices so subverted that among the respectable classes of the community, those laws [on restrictions on manumission] would be repealed."³⁹

It was well that the newspapers made such an impact, for the state legislature, where the final decisions would be made, was a citadel of proslavery interests. In the late 1780s the legislature had sixty-five members. All but five owned slaves. Six of the slaveowners were great planters, each of whom held over one hundred slaves. Edward Lloyd stood among the wealthiest and kept 305 blacks on his Talbot County lands. The median holding among assemblymen was thirty-five slaves. The state senate of eighteen members was similarly situated, and one senator, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, had the largest holding in the state, 410 slaves. The combined human holdings of the legislature amounted to approximately three thousand, nearly 4 percent of all slaves in Maryland. Regionally the major slaveholding areas comprised the seven counties of the Eastern Shore and the five tobacco counties in the south central portion of the state. Only the eight Piedmont counties had "light" slave populations. Politically this would be relevant in two respects. Any slavery bill could be easily voted down from either a sectional or a personal approach, and the inducement of, and support for, any kind of antislavery legislation would have to come from the slaveholders themselves.⁴⁰

In May two committees of Friends presented their memorial so effectively that the Maryland General Assembly shattered a century-long precedent and permitted a Quaker to be admitted within the bar of the House. More importantly, the cause found a champion—William Pinkney of Harford County. A slaveowner of modest holdings, he nevertheless opposed the institution and represented a county that had shown a flurry of manumission activity since mid-decade. Pinkney drew attention with a vibrant speech in which he opposed the law that prevented manumission by last will and testament. The legislature was not moved enough to debate the matter, but there was enough support to place the issue on the calendar for the next session.⁴¹

That gave antislavery forces more than half a year to prepare. Again, the newspapers reflected the pro- and antislavery sentiment in the state. The defenders of slavery, previously silent because they had no need to defend the status quo, were now drawn out. They defended slavery and particularly objected, on several counts, to any scheme for gradual emancipation. They pointed to evidence that freedmen were not successful and warned that the stability of the community had to be considered. Locally, they argued, society could absorb only small numbers of ex-slaves at a time. They also believed that the security of the heavily populated slave states to the south had to be taken into account. They further argued that those who wanted a manumission plan were people who had nothing to lose as they had few, if any, slaves. This may have been true for the legislature, but it was not the case for Maryland as a whole—large slaveholders were well represented among the manumitters in the 1780s. Lastly there was the economic cost of granting freedom. Slaveholders pointed out that releasing valuable property would create economic distress for many. But they also noted that if a means to pay the

planter for his loss could be found, there was "no doubt that a general manumission might take place." The issue of money concerned members of the state legislature. One wrote to a friend that Cuba had taken "a considerable step to the absolute abolition of slavery" by letting her slaves keep one day's hiring out pay per week which would later be used for purchasing their freedom.⁴²

By 1789 the issue had progressed to the point in Maryland where serious plans for gradual manumission were being discussed. Four different proposals were put forth—two from authors who chose to remain anonymous. The first proposed that all female children between seven and fourteen be purchased by the state, and after serving an apprenticeship until age twenty-five, they would be granted full freedom. The state would bear the cost through a tax or lottery. The next plan avoided the question of cost and proposed that all slave children be freed at a stipulated age (not given) and that the courts apprentice them out in the interval. Luther Martin, one of the state's delegates to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, proposed that the new federal government draft a plan for emancipation. Finally, Charles Carroll of Carrollton suggested that the state purchase all female children, bind them out until age twenty-eight, then set them free.⁴³

The movement reached its climax in the legislative sessions of 1789 and 1790. Again, the initial stimulus would be of a nonpolitical nature. In the late summer of 1789, the Maryland Society for the Abolition of Slavery formed in Baltimore. Both Quaker and non-Quaker interests created and sustained the organization. The group grew quickly to over two hundred members and drew support from three newly formed societies on the Eastern Shore—one at Chestertown in Kent County and the other at Choptank in Caroline County. The Baltimore group began its work immediately by sending a strongly worded petition to the House of Delegates. The Friends sent a similar appeal.

Instead of considering the matter directly, as it had in the past, the legislature referred the petitions to a committee of seven. Chairman William Pinkney gave a speech that ultimately established his reputation. The Harford County delegate argued strongly against slavery and noted with irony that Marylanders could "fly to arms like Roman citizens" to protect their own freedom and yet do nothing to eliminate slavery "in a country where freedom is its boast." The legislature was impressed, and the moment seemed ripe to propose that the group form a committee and write a liberal manumission bill. But proslavery forces then rallied to defeat the proposal by a vote of 39 to 15. The senate now acted, and Charles Carroll introduced his plan for the gradual abolition of slavery. The session ended with the formation of another committee to turn the plan into a bill for legislative consideration.⁴³

The session of 1790 posed a danger for slavery interests in Maryland. Antislavery forces managed to defeat an effort to kill the bill at committee level by just two votes, but the tide had turned. In some manner that the records do not reveal,

the proslavery interests rallied and the bill died in committee. For the first and last time in its history, Maryland came close to adopting a plan for gradual abolition. What went wrong at such a critical moment? The records offer few clues, but the temper of the times suggests several probabilities. First, the great proslavery strength in the legislature was a serious obstacle despite measurable inroads made upon this strength in the 1780s. Second, the proposed plan of manumission was probably too advanced for Maryland. Further, in spite of the expressed wishes of the planter class, there was no well conceived plan to compensate owners for the loss of their property. This would prove to be a key element in New York (with small slaveholdings) that delayed a schedule of gradual abolition for twenty years. Lastly, there was a failure of leadership at a time when it was most needed.⁴⁴

William Pinkney did not forcefully push the measure. He later explained that he feared overplaying his hand and tempered his position in order to hold or establish more easily achievable gains. This might have been a serious mistake, for there is a good possibility that he underestimated statewide support when he chose political expediency over the bold liberality of an abolition plan.⁴⁵ The senate was also without its antislavery leadership, for Charles Carroll had just been made a member of the United States Senate and was absent when he was needed most. Had Carroll provided a galvanizing force, for instance, by dramatically freeing his four hundred slaves at the time that his plan was brought to the floor of the legislature such a dramatic gesture would have startled many Marylanders.⁴⁶ But Carroll was by nature a collector and not a liberator of slaves. The galvanizing force would have to have come from someone else.⁴⁷

That someone never appeared. Still, there is a slight possibility that such a dramatic step might have worked and for a number of reasons. Emancipation was an emotional issue, never more so than in those years, and a selfless act by some prominent Marylander might have temporarily conditioned the legislature to favorable consideration. The French Constituent Assembly meeting at this very time was about to prove how far an aroused citizenry could go by voluntarily and dramatically terminating serfdom in their famous August Decrees. There is also a good possibility that the average Maryland slave holder was ready for such a step. Contemporaries felt that the proper mood at last existed in the state, and the record of manumission activity in the years ahead strongly reinforced that belief. In the forty years following the proposal of this plan, and without any special motivation except good will on the part of manumitters, there would be a great surge in manumission activity. One cannot help but speculate about what might have happened if that good will had been channeled at a telling moment.

Although the antislavery forces lost their best chance for success, the residual developments were notable. First, the events of 1789–90 had “produced a great sensation throughout the state.” In the process, Pinkney brought the issue of the right to freedom into clear focus, in particular for those with no previous interest.

Many who had doubted the wisdom of abolition now changed their views. This volatile issue also affected the legislature. Although the assembly turned its back on general abolition, it did restore the law that the Quakers had been seeking for years—the right to manumit by last will and testament. The size of the vote, 40 to 23, reflected the legislature's new stance. More importantly the new law created a second legal instrument for granting freedom that nicely supplemented the regular deed. Over the next seventy years nearly 40 percent of all slaves freed gained that status through testators' wills.⁴⁸

Manumission gained wider acceptance. "Once manumission was a reward for a favorite slave," one observer noted. "Now manumission deals in hundreds and it has become a wholesale business where liberty by the mass is bartered for peace of mind." The practice became "contagious." Those who freed their slaves set an example that "would be followed by others who would not have acted without example, and these again will be imitated by many more."⁴⁹ This feeling was not merely speculation, for the rate of manumission activity sharply increased between 1783 and 1790. In the first postwar year the rate was modest, but starting in 1785 it began to accelerate. By 1786 it had grown to 255 cases, then it remained steady. With coverage of the slavery theme increasing in newspapers and in legislative sessions in 1789–90, the number of manumissions jumped to 405 and finally to 685. More slaves were freed in each of these last two years than in the entire century before the Revolution. For the entire decade of the 1780s extant records show that at least 2,500 slaves had been freed by regular deed alone. When this figure is added to the 952 freed during the first five years of the Revolution, the total number of blacks who gained their freedom during the entire fifteen years of the "revolutionary era" grows to 3,120.⁵⁰

This marked only the beginning. With the right to emancipate by last will and testament restored in 1790, and with a favorable chain reaction setting in from the successes already achieved, approximately forty thousand more slaves would obtain their freedom in the next seventy years. In 1860, on the eve of the Civil War, 83,932 free African-Americans lived in Maryland—the largest free black population in the nation.⁵¹

NOTES

1. John Franklin Jameson, *The Revolution Considered as a Social Movement* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1926) 16; John H. Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), 139–41; Lynn Stoughton, "The Abolitionist Critique of the Constitution," in Martin Duberman, ed., *The Antislavery Vanguard: New Essays on the Abolitionists* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965). Two other historians, Richard Morris and F. B. Tolles, also agree with the Jameson thesis.
2. David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of the Revolution, 1770–1823* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975).

3. William W. Freehling, "The Founding Fathers and Slavery," *American Historical Review*, 77 (1972): 81–93.
4. See Arthur Silversmit, *The First Emancipation: The Abolition of Slavery in the North* (Chicago: 1967); passim. Excellent coverage of Delaware's position can be found in two studies, Patience Essah, *A House Divided* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996) and William H. Williams, *Slavery and Freedom in Delaware, 1639–1865* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 1996).
5. A detailed analysis of Maryland's 1775 population can be found in *Gentlemen's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, 34 (1764): 261; *First Census of the United States 1790, Maryland, Heads of Families* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1907).
6. The 900 increase takes into account the estimated number who died in that interval of time.
7. William Hand Browne, et al., editors, *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–1972), 50: 76–77 (hereinafter cited *Arch.Md*). Since many manumitters took this step in a state near death, it was felt that they would not be acting rationally. An excellent survey of such activities is in Kenneth Carroll, "Religious Influences on the Manumission of Slaves in Charles, Dorchester, and Talbot Counties," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 56 (1961): 176–97. Carroll cites forty deeds freeing slaves on Maryland's Eastern Shore before 1775. This writer has found forty-four for the rest of Maryland; just ninety-three Maryland blacks served in Washington's army, and many of them were already free. For their tale, see William Calderhead, "Thomas Carney: Unsung Soldier of the American Revolution," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 84 (1989): 319–26; Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961); and Mary S. Locke, *Anti-Slavery in America* (Boston: Ginn & Company, 1901), 83.
8. The extent of Quaker settlement is well presented in Phoebe Jacobson, *Quaker Records of Maryland* (Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission, 1967) and J. Reaney Kelly, *Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County, Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1963); For Quaker religious motivation and their numerical contribution to manumission, see Carroll, "Religious Influences," 176–97.
9. "Minutes of the Society of Friends, West River, Third Haven, and Baltimore Conferences, 1765–1789," passim. Microfilm copy of manuscript records on file at Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, hereinafter cited MSA.
10. Oscar Reiss, *Blacks in Colonial America* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland and Company, 1997) 166–67.
11. For typical examples of such manumissions, see Dorchester County Land Records, Liber NH5:356–57, NH2:120, Liber 28:333–48, and Caroline County Land Records, WB3:1,143, MSA. Well over one hundred slaves were freed by deeds mentioning the concepts of liberty or freedom as the motivating force. For the quotation noted above, see Caroline County Land Records, Wr#B:41, MSA; Anne Arundel County Land Records, NH4:77, NH5:187, MSA.
12. The deeds of manumission are normally found in the land records of the various counties. The Baltimore County records were maintained in a separate set of documents that were destroyed in 1952. This estimate is based on what James M. Wright, author of *The Free Negro in Maryland, 1634–1860* (1921; repr., New York: Octagon Books, 1971), gleaned from those records in the 1920s and on projected comparisons based on existing Baltimore records such as wills. Although the right to free by will was not restored until 1790, people were still writing wills with provisions to free slaves. Wills written before 1790 but taking effect after 1790 and the death of the testator involved an additional 150 slaves who obtained delayed freedom. Since it is the date of the testator's intention that is important here, their freedom is listed for the earlier or intended period.

13. This includes the nearly 300 slaves freed by Eastern Shore Quakers that Kenneth Carroll lists plus a liberal estimate of another 150 that Western Shore Quakers released in Baltimore, Anne Arundel, and Prince George's Counties. Carroll, "Religious Influences," 181–85; Edgar J. McManus, *A History of Slavery in New York* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1967), 174–75. It was not until 1799 that New York began a process of gradual emancipation.
14. For economic changes affecting the Eastern Shore see Ronald Hoffman, *A Spirit of Dissension: Economics, Politics, and Revolution in Maryland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 60–91; and Wright, *The Free Negro*, 41–43. The prices of slaves in Anne Arundel and Prince George's Counties remained almost constant at an average of sixty British pounds through the 1780s. In Talbot County, where the sales involved mostly young slaves, there was a 15 percent decline from an earlier average of thirty-seven British pounds per slave. Anne Arundel County Land Records, NH1, 2; Prince George's County Land Records, FF1, HH2; Talbot County Land Records, R22, 23, MSA. When Thomas Chamberlain of Talbot County freed several dozen slaves in 1789, the editor of a leading newspaper emphasized the philanthropic nature of Chamberlain's action. See *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, March 31, 1789.
15. Gerald W. Mullin, *Flight and Rebellion: Slave Resistance in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 132. Two of the major newspapers of the state, the *Maryland Gazette* and the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser* averaged at least one sales ad per year in the 1780s stipulating that the slaves would be sold "in families" or "together" or "with their mothers." About one in every seven advertisements included this provision. Testators in wills made similar provisions by either attempting to keep families together or by taking precautions to minimize the extent of separation. See Anne Arundel County Wills, Tg 2, 20, MSA. Newspaper advertisements stated that slaves had been hired out over "long periods of time." Owners were also showing more willingness to hire their slaves as well as sell them. In at least two instances owners noted that they had given written permission to their slaves to hire their time. See *Maryland Gazette*, February 14, 1788, and *Maryland Journal*, July 24, 1787.
16. Return of the Negroes in the Army, August 24, 1778, George Washington Papers, Library of Congress (Microfilm Reel 51). For an overview of blacks serving in the war, see Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution* and Calderhead, "Thomas Carney," 319–26.
17. "The Light That Failed," unpublished manuscript by author on free blacks in Maryland 1780–1860. On file at the Annapolis Office of the Maryland Commission on Afro-American History and Culture.
18. Robert J. Hurry, "Archeological Perspectives on Benjamin Banneker," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 84 (1989): 361–68; Silvio A. Bedini, *The Life of Benjamin Banneker: The First African-American Man of Science*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1997), 156–64.
19. Mullin, *Flight and Rebellion*, 136; Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 231; *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, February 3, 1789. The figure speaking was a free black who did not live in Maryland. Local newspaper accounts and legal records, however, show a significant degree of unrest. *Maryland Gazette*, October 23, 1788; *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, February 3, 1786; *Maryland Gazette*, October 28, 1790. Between 1783 and 1790, the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser* listed 156 slaves as runaways. Of these, 90 (58 percent) were described as "passing as free." Seventeen eighty-three was the peak year of activity with 38 runaways; 25 of them passed as free.
20. *Gentlemen's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, 34 (1764): 261. Many mulattoes were children of white fathers.

21. After 1790 when manumission by will was reinstated, there were many testators who mentioned a family relationship to the slave being freed.
22. See T. Stephen Whitman, *The Price of Freedom: Slavery and Manumission in Baltimore and Early National Maryland* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1997) who gives an in-depth view of manumission and the transformation of slavery, especially chapters 4 and 5. The same pattern applied to Harford County which had a smaller slave population. See Harford County Land Records, 3, 1784–1790, MSA. Patience Essah suggests that in Delaware “a precise count” of such manumissions cannot be made due to the imprecise wording of the legal document (Essah, *A House Divided*, 100). The same problem applies to Maryland in the 1780s. Flight could also be seen as a response unleashed by the Revolution, but slaves had run away, or tried to, since the institution first took root in the Chesapeake colonies. Few succeeded during the colonial years. By the antebellum years, however, organized abolition efforts such as the underground railroad helped those in bondage escape.
23. Sylvia Frey, *Water from the Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 159.
24. Ernest Eller, *The Chesapeake Bay in the American Revolution* (Centerville, Md: Tidewater Publishers, 1981), passim.; Ambrose Serle, *The American Journal of Ambrose Serle, Secretary to Lord Howe, 1776–1778* (San Marino Calif.: Huntington Library, 1943), 244, 246, 249, 250.
25. Frey, *Water from the Rock*, 159–62.
26. *Ibid.*, 211.
27. Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, 257; Frey, *Water from the Rock*, 159; *First Census, 1790, Maryland*. In this year, Smallwood owned 56 slaves, Ramsay 26, Gunby 13, Hall 9, and Otho Williams 8.
28. *Calendar of Otho Holland Williams Papers* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1940), 46, 133. In a letter of June 1, 1781, Williams speaks in favor of forming a Negro regiment. In a letter of June 1786 he “wishes warmly for the entire emancipation of the whole human race.”
29. Robert Showman, ed., *Papers of General Greene* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 7:160–61.
30. Joseph Tustin translator and editor, *Captain Johann Ewald, Diary of the American War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), 163.
31. James T. Flexner, *George Washington and the American Revolution, 1775–1783* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1968) cites Papers of George Washington, 12:327; Marian Klamkin, *The Return of Lafayette, 1824–1825* (New York: Charles Scribners sons, 1975), 89, 91.
32. *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, July 25, 1786, and December 9, 1788; Mullin, *Flight and Rebellion*, 133; Harris and McHenry, *Maryland Reports, Vol. 2* (New York: I. Riley, 1809–1818), 214. Maryland General Court of the Eastern Shore, 1789, John Butler v. Henry Hill, 686; *Maryland Gazette*, August 20 and September 3, 1789; Whitman, *The Price of Freedom*, 64–65; and *Maryland Reports, Vols. 3 and 4, 1780–1790*.
33. *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, February 7, 1786, and November 20, 1787.
34. Thomas O. Hanley, *The American Revolution and Religion: Maryland, 1770–1800* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1972), 108–30; Donald G. Matthews, *Slavery and Methodism: A Chapter in American Morality 1780–1845* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978), 3–11. David Brion Davis notes that at this time leading antislavery leaders (such as Samuel Hopkins) were beginning to secularize their religious stand in opposing slavery. This move, of course, was necessary to gain the sympathy of people who were not of the Quaker or Methodist faith. See Davis, *Problem of Slavery*, 284; Wright, *Free Negro in Maryland*, 53; Hanley, *The American Revolution*, 120. Both authors stress the significance of the continuing trend in manumission activity.

35. John Tyson, *Life of Elisha Tyson* (Baltimore, 1825), 38; *Maryland House Journal*, 1785, 36–39; *Maryland Senate Journal*, 1785, 13.
36. *Maryland Gazette*, March 24, 1785. Similar reaction was occurring in Virginia where proslavery interests in 1785–86 urged the repeal of the new emancipation law of 1782. See Robert McColley, *Slavery and Jeffersonian Virginia* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973), 162.
37. *Maryland House and Senate Journals*, 1787, 34, 35, and 36; Minutes of the Meetings of Sufferings, at Cecil County, April 28, 1788; Minutes of the Yearly Meeting, Third Haven, June 1788, MSA.
38. *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, April 13, 1789. Maryland was not alone in this propaganda activity. Other papers were printing similar material. But these were all in the northern states. See Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550–1812* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), 289–90. Minutes of the Yearly Meeting, Third Haven, June, 1788; *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, August 21, 1789.
39. Tyson, *Life of Tyson*, 11. “Tyson had two modes of operating on the public mind, first by conversation in public and private places, and second by the press.” Goddard describes his background briefly in an article on January 2, 1787, in his *Maryland Journal*. He was considered to be “one of the most colorful newspaper editors.” See Sidney Kobre, *Developments of American Journalism* (Dubuque, Iowa: W. C. Brown Co., 1969), 90–91; Anne Arundel County Wills, Liber JG #2 (1802), 220, MSA. Here the testator declared, “I can truly say with the great Jefferson that my heart has beat in agony for my country . . . especially when I consider that God is just.” See also *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, May 16, 1788. A manumitter calling himself “Othello” declared, “The father of them as well as of us will not fail to adjust the account between us, with a dreadful attention to justice.” Tyson, *Life of Tyson*, 12–13.
40. These figures were compiled from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, *First Census of the United States, 1790*, Maryland, Heads of Families (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907) and the 1783 census of Maryland in the counties for which records remain.
41. *Maryland House Journal* (1788), 82; Henry Wheaton, *Some Aspects in the Life of William Pinkney* (New York, 1826), 8–11. Pinckney’s propensity to challenge authority came early in his life. When he lived in Annapolis at the start of the Revolution, he broke with his father over the issue of siding with Great Britain. Davis points out an important shortcoming to the will as a legal instrument in manumission, noting that such a move “was a betrayal of duty since only a few exceptional slaves could fend for themselves.” See Davis, *The Problem of Slavery*, 212; *Maryland House Journal* (1788), 82.
42. *Maryland Gazette*, November 28, 1790. Gere, a “True friend of the Union,” spoke effectively for the moderates and proslavery elements. The feeling that newly freed blacks could not adjust to freedom was a fear expressed throughout the entire nation at this time. See Davis, *The Problem of Slavery*, 304. Large planters, at least in the early years, were quite active in manumitting their slaves. See “The Light that Failed,” unpublished manuscript on manumission activity in Maryland, 1780–1860, in the possession of the author and on file at the Anne Arundel County Office of the Maryland Commission on Afro-American History and Culture. *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, December 7, 1787.
43. The arguments and wording favoring the plan are similar to the wording that the Quakers were using in their tracts opposing slavery, but the only indication of authorship was the pseudonym “Humanus.” Max Farrand, ed., *Records of the Federal Convention of 1787* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1911), 3:211. This information is from a Carroll letter, a copy of which was printed in Hazard’s *Register*, 1832, 10:411. The letter is not listed among the more than two thousand items in the Charles Carroll papers. Father Thomas Hanley, an authority

on Charles Carroll, suggests that the letter is no doubt genuine and reflects Carroll's feelings about manumission.

44. *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, September 22, 1789; Tyson, *Life of Tyson*, 50; Bedini, *Life of Benjamin Banneker*, 101–4. See also *Newport [Connecticut] Mercury*, January 27, 1790, and May 26, 1791; Wheaton, *Life of Pinkney*, 11–13; Tyson, *Life of Tyson*, 26–30; Anita Guy, "The Maryland Abolition Society and the Promotion of the Ideals of the New Nation," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 84 (1989): 342–49; *Maryland Senate Journal* (1789), 5, 10, 15, 17, 34.

45. *Maryland House Journal* (1790), 18; *Maryland Senate Journal* (1790), passim.

46. Davis, *The Problem of Slavery*, 333–34. Historians have not yet analyzed the antislavery aspect of Carroll's character. Archival records reveal that he freed very few of his slaves during his lifetime and at his death he freed none. It is doubtful that he would have freed all of his charges in order to set an example. Fellow planters such as Robert Carter, with whom Carroll corresponded, did release all of their slaves in one step.

47. Virginia antislavery leaders approached George Washington in 1785 and asked him to take a second step in the cause of liberty and free his own slaves. He responded as he had earlier, when was asked to sign a petition requesting a gradual emancipation law—he would move only after a major antislavery groundswell had shown itself.

48. John Tyson, who was somewhat biased toward the positive features of these events, felt strongly that antislavery sentiment was pervading the state. See his *Life of Tyson*, 34–36. The newspapers now doubled the space they devoted to antislavery themes. See *Maryland Gazette*, 1790 and *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, 1790, passim; Tyson, *Life of Tyson*, 36; *Maryland House Journal* (1790), 11, 15, and 23; A compilation of the totals of all slaves freed by last will has never been made, but a study of three representative Maryland counties (25 percent of the slaves) for the entire seventy years has been made. This figure, multiplied by four, will provide an estimate of the number of manumissions through wills, the instrument through which 40 percent of the state's emancipated slaves gained freedom. For methodology, see author, "The Light that Failed."

49. Tyson, *Life of Tyson*, 37; Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 280. In the eyes of some contemporaries, the increased growth of manumission activity suggested that "manumission begets manumission." As Berlin noted, this was an overly optimistic view.

50. The Census of 1790 showed 8,043 free blacks in Maryland. A colonial census of 1755 showed 1,817 free blacks. Thus, in twenty-five years the numbers of this group increased by 6,200, nearly half of which came through manumissions. See U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of 1790* (Population); and *Gentleman's Magazine of London*, 1755, as cited in James Wright's *Free Negro*, 89.

51. The 40,000 figure is an estimate from wills, noted above, and an actual count for regular deeds of manumission to 1860 from all but four counties. See author, "The Light that Failed."

Research Notes & Maryland Miscellany

Trade in Colonial Anne Arundel County: The Tobacco Port of London Town

MECHELLE L. KERNS-NOCERITO

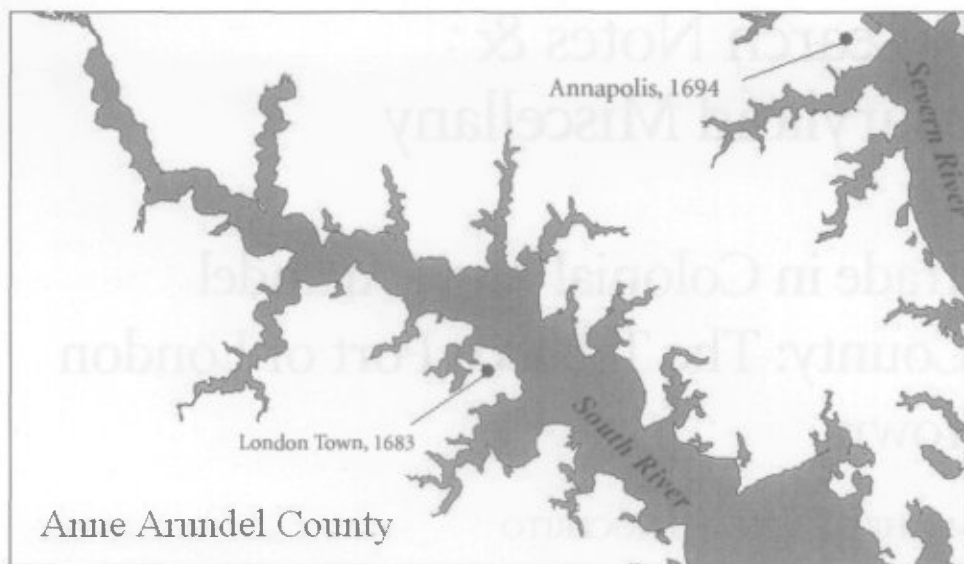
Port records are useful tools for studying the regional economy in colonial Maryland. Their pages preserve the comings and goings of vessels and describe the types of cargo they carried. They provide accounts of local crops, trade partners, and areas of shipping activity. This study used mid-eighteenth century Port of Annapolis, Naval Officer Records to investigate trade patterns in Anne Arundel County, Maryland.¹

In 1683, as part of a plan to advance the tobacco trade, the Maryland General Assembly established towns in which officials would promote, organize, and regulate tobacco—the colony's most lucrative cash crop. County representatives proposed locations for more than thirty towns throughout Maryland. Anne Arundel County developed three, including London Town.

The South River, nearly seven miles in length, was London Town's reason for existence. Ships that weighed up to 160 tons could navigate two-and-a-half miles up the tributary from the Chesapeake Bay.² The port juts out into South River on a mushroom-shaped peninsula with navigable creeks on either side, and it became the natural choice for ships taking on tobacco from the area south of Annapolis. In addition to operating as a ferry crossing, London Town functioned as the only town with services such as an ordinary and stores for those who lived in the southern part of the county from the 1690s through 1740.

Ships loaded cargo on one of the county's six major rivers—from north to south, the Patapsco, Magothy, Severn, South, West, and Patuxent. Ships usually remained in one river until the vessel was full of tobacco or other cargo and ready to sail for Britain. Planters moved their tobacco to the nearest lading area via a

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rolling road (a path designed to handle hogsheads of tobacco that were rolled to the desired location) or in small boats. In London Town factors and local merchants kept warehouses in which they stored hogsheads of tobacco until sale and transport to England and beyond.³ Maryland law required ship captains to set a price for transporting tobacco and to post that information on the "County Court House door, at what rate they will receive tobacco upon freight per ton."⁴ In the case of London Town, ships anchored in the South River and their captains then publicized their rates (in pounds sterling per ton of tobacco) by posting a notice on the door of the courthouse in Annapolis as well as in the pages of the *Maryland Gazette*. Those loading in the South River area had to "clear" with the Naval Officer in Annapolis. As an employee of the Crown, this customs officer was responsible for recording the particulars of each ship: its size, country of origin, owner, captain, and the amount and value of all cargo aboard.⁵

From 1705 to 1762 hundreds of tobacco ships made more than 585 voyages to Anne Arundel County.⁶ Thirty-eight percent of them (231) came to South River and London Town. The Severn River received 20 percent and the West River 13 percent of the county's tobacco shipping. The volume of shipping for London Town shows the commercial vitality of the small settlement. Figures 2 and 3 show that the South River attracted more ships than any other Maryland port. Furthermore, from the high volume of ship traffic it is clear that London Town and Annapolis formed a belt of economic activity and services in Anne Arundel County.

The economic expansion of areas similar to London Town created new markets and affected town growth tremendously. New settlements encouraged the growth of surrounding areas through increased trade, enlarging the markets for

established towns and local planters. This activity created and sustained an evolving interchange between England and its Chesapeake colony.

Tobacco production preoccupied most Marylanders, who depended on the crop as a medium of exchange, one of few by which they could buy both necessities and luxuries. British manufacturers experienced a rising demand for household goods, clothing, and farm implements as the colony grew. The rate of population growth in the eighteenth-century North American colonies during this period was exceedingly rapid, doubling almost every twenty-five years.⁷ This growth dramatically increased the demand for imports during the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century.⁸

Participating in this wider trend, London Town and the colony generally experienced steady growth from roughly 1700 to 1748. One way to track this growth in trade is through the number of ships visiting the South River.⁹ London Town's longest (and only) period of sustained growth occurred during the period between the end of Queen Anne's War in 1713 and the beginning of the War of Austrian Succession in 1740. The colonies saw a peak in imports in 1749 and experienced moderate increases in trade growth until 1755, the beginning of the Seven Years' War.

Although Britain had a monopoly on the tobacco trade, very little of the "sot weed" was consumed in the kingdom; the majority of Maryland's Orinocco tobacco was re-exported to France and Holland. British wars with France sharply curtailed that trade, sharply depressing the Chesapeake economy. During the twenty-eight-year period between wars, 150 ships took on tobacco in the South River. This constitutes 68 percent of shipping for the period as a whole from 1705 to 1762, the period for which these records are available. The average was more than five ships per year with the highest number, eleven, visiting London Town in 1730. In the twenty-two years following 1740, only two or three ships visited London Town annually. During the Seven Years' War (from 1756 to 1763), only one or two ships visited the South River per year. Additionally, restrictions on trade as a result of taxation by the British Parliament negatively affected maritime commerce in the American colonies. The volume of imports rose again, peaked in 1760, and then fell slightly until 1765. Growth resumed in 1768 but did not reach the levels of 1760. In 1769, imports decreased dramatically after colonists reacted to Parliament's postwar tax plans to pay for the Seven Years' War by organizing nonimportation associations through which they boycotted British goods. Imports remained depressed until the repeal of some taxes led to the reversal of the nonimportation agreements in 1771, at which time imports reached their highest level for the colonial period. The period from 1771 to 1775 saw another small decline, then trade nearly stopped in 1775 when the nonimportation agreements were enacted again. This cycle of economic contraction and growth is reflected in the number of ships visiting London Town each year.¹⁰

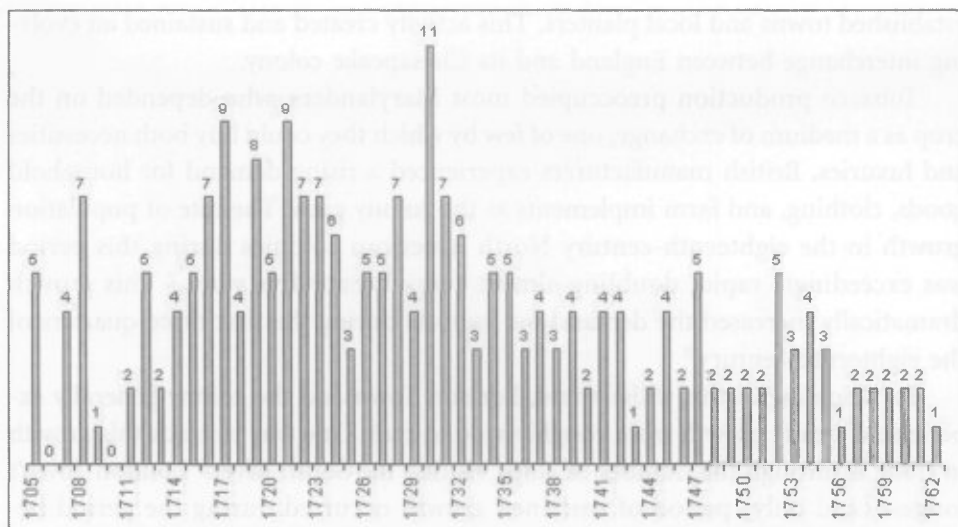


Fig. 1: Number of Ships Awaiting Freight in the South River, 1705–62. Data from Provincial Court, Land Records Office. Compiled by Jacob M. Hemphill in "Tobacco Freight Rates on the Maryland Tobacco Trade, 1705–1762," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 55 (1959): 36–58.

As did many of the ports throughout the colony, London Town faced a steep decline in trade and growth by the end of the American Revolution. Other factors drew trade from the South River region as well, including Baltimore's wartime prosperity. Earlier in the eighteenth century, during the period in which London Town experienced its greatest growth, Baltimore was a small town, a sleepy confluence of fallsways and streams that powered the local grain mills. By 1752, the little village on the Patapsco counted only twenty-five houses.¹¹ Fewer than eight hundred tithables or taxable laborers, usually heads of households, lived in the county, and the total population stood at about three thousand.¹² Yet the town's deep natural harbor and proximity to Pennsylvania farmers provided fuel for sustained growth without tobacco.¹³ When war and price inflation brought the tobacco market to the verge of collapse, Baltimore merchants continued to ship milled wheat and corn and began to absorb all other shipping, reducing the need for small tobacco port towns such as London Town.

Port of Annapolis Records

Much of the historical discussion of trade in colonial Maryland has concentrated on the exportation of tobacco to England. Although tobacco was the primary commodity, foodstuffs such as corn and wheat, as well as natural resources such as wood, iron, and animal hides appear prominently on ship manifests. Any study of the economy of London Town and Anne Arundel County is not complete without an analysis of the shipping records from the Port of Annapolis. These lists

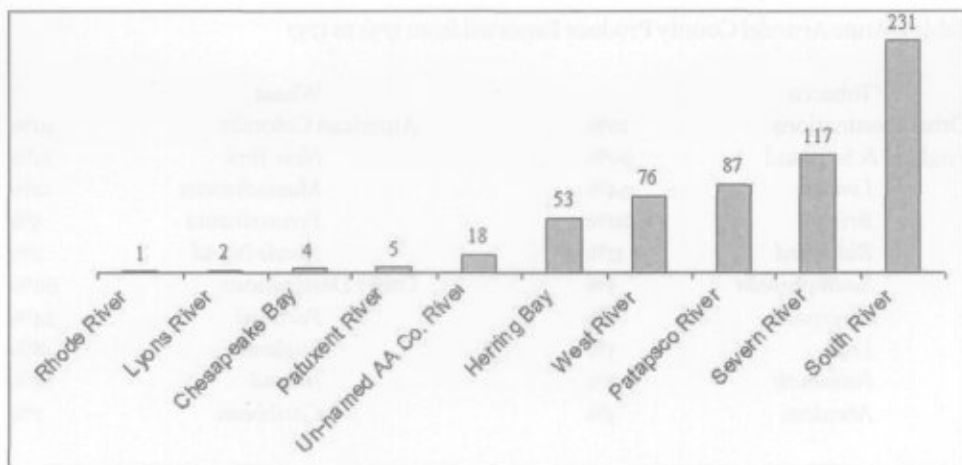


Fig. 2: Number of Voyages to Each Anne Arundel County River from 1705 to 1762. Data from Provincial Court, Land Records Office, 1705–62. Compiled by Jacob M. Hemphill in “Tobacco Freight Rates on the Maryland Tobacco Trade, 1705–1762,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 55 (1959): 36–58.

show what came into the county and what was exported from the area. The records are scattered—some are in Maryland, others in England—and many years of reports are missing. Many records were lost or destroyed during the hectic days of the Revolution, while others were consumed in a fire that swept through the Plantation Wing of the London Customs House in 1814. Moreover, accidental destruction is not the only culprit for the dearth of customs data. Although the system of recording shipping activity was established in 1676, it went through many revisions. Records may well be lacking for the period 1696 until 1710 because the system of record-keeping was revised.¹⁴

Detailed data on trade from Anne Arundel County can therefore only be retrieved from the Port of Annapolis records. This study encompasses 511 voyages to or from Annapolis during the years from 1754 to 1761. It covers ships entering and clearing the Port of Annapolis, although not all administrative quarter records were preserved. The naval officer assembled the reports each quarter and sent them on to London to the Board of Plantations and, eventually, to the Treasury. The data transcribed for this study were entered into a database in order to analyze the types of cargo coming and going at the Port of Annapolis. Of the 511 voyages, 146 cleared the port and 365 entered it. Two hundred and twenty different vessels, captained by 285 masters, made these trips to or from Annapolis. Many voyages were repeat trips (for the vessels and captains) to the capital.¹⁵

Numerous studies of trade in the Chesapeake restrict themselves to tobacco as the only commodity. This study uses the data from the Naval Officer reports to see what other types of goods were circulating in Anne Arundel County during the

Table 1: Anne Arundel County Produce Exported from 1754 to 1757

Tobacco		Wheat	
Other Destinations	10%	American Colonies	40%
England & Scotland	90%	New York	21%
London	54%	Massachusetts	12%
Bristol	20%	Pennsylvania	5%
Biddeford	11%	Rhode Island	2%
Southampton	3%	Other Destinations	60%
Liverpool	3%	Portugal	24%
Leith	3%	England	18%
Falmouth	3%	Ireland	16%
Aberdeen	3%	Caribbean	2%
Staves and Heading		Flaxseed	
England	48%	Ireland	80%
Caribbean	27%	Scotland	14%
Ireland	12%	England	4%
American Colonies	5%	Pennsylvania	2%
Portugal	4%		
Scotland	4%		

Information from the Port of Annapolis, Naval Officer Records collected from the Maryland State Archives in Annapolis, Maryland, and the Public Record Office, Kew, London, England. See the following collections: Maryland State Archives, Port of Entry Collection, 1745–1775; Special Collections: SC2910 (M1002-A Microfilm) and Public Record Office, Treasury Papers, 1557–1920: Items T1/359/2, 3, 4; 76999; T1/355/58, 59, 60; 76999; T1/374/50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59; 76999.

middle of the eighteenth century. Merchandise available in London Town can be documented from newspaper advertisements and merchant probate records. These sources taken together paint a clearer picture of economic activity in the county.

In addition to tobacco, commodities exported from Maryland in sufficient amounts to warrant study and tabulation included wood products, primarily timber and staves and heading, wheat and corn by the bushel, iron by the ton, and flaxseed. Merchants also exported foodstuffs such as flour, ships bread, pork, beans, and peas, but not on the same scale as the items mentioned above.¹⁶

Wood and wood products were exported from Anne Arundel County in large quantities. The sugar colonies needed barrels of all sizes, especially casks and hogsheads, to process, store, and export their products. England required timber for shipbuilding during the wars of the eighteenth century. One common wood product exported from Maryland was “staves and heading,” the prefabricated tops, bottoms, and staves of barrels. Colonial Maryland timber enterprises also produced shingles as well as the planks used in both ship and house construction. These products were noted as “oak planking” and “cedar shingles,” two types of

wood readily available in Maryland. From 1755 to 1757, nearly 500,000 pieces of staves and heading were sent overseas and to other colonies.¹⁷ Although much was exported, the planters of Anne Arundel County themselves would have required thousands of hogsheads for tobacco and as many barrels for flour, wheat, and corn. It is clear that there was large-scale production of staves and heading somewhere in the county.

Tobacco totaling 11,391 hogsheads was exported in forty-one of the 146 outgoing voyages to clear Annapolis from 1754 to 1757. Nearly all (90 percent) of this tobacco went to England, with most of it to London. The average shipment consisted of 268 hogsheads per voyage. One of the largest traveled with London Town's William Strachan to London, England, in August 1757. His vessel, the 250-ton *Lyon*, carried 512 hogsheads.¹⁸ Most Chesapeake tobacco left the colonies for Europe. The raw tobacco leaves were then processed for use in pipes and as snuff in England, Holland, and France. In three instances, very small amounts of tobacco went to other colonies: Halifax, Nova Scotia (one hogshead), Boston (one hogshead), and St. Christopher's in the Caribbean (two hogsheads).¹⁹ The scale of tobacco exported indicates the scale of tobacco production in Anne Arundel County.

Sixty percent of all wheat exported was shipped to foreign ports, with the remainder going to other American colonies. During the period for which records are available, from 1754 to 1757, more than 89,000 bushels of wheat were shipped out of Anne Arundel County. The Portuguese (in Lisbon and Madeira) received most of the shipments, nearly 24 percent, and New York received 21 percent. More than 21,000 bushels of wheat went to Portugal in five voyages. Nine voyages shipped 19,054 bushels to New York.

Corn, also referred to as maize, was a Native American crop embraced by the early colonists in Virginia and Maryland. By the middle of the eighteenth century, corn was used to feed slaves not only in the colonies but also in the Caribbean. Two-thirds (68 percent) of the corn exported from Annapolis went to the Caribbean sugar islands. This is a stark difference from the amount of wheat sent to the islands during the same period, only two percent. Twenty-six percent of the trade in corn was intercolonial and the remaining 6 percent was exported to Ireland, Newfoundland, and Madeira.

Of forty-seven voyages that involved some type of foodstuffs in the outgoing cargo, all contained flour, which was shipped in barrels. A minimum of 6,286 barrels and 493 bushels of flour, were exported from Anne Arundel County during this period. Bread, presumably for the crew and not for trade, was included on twenty-six of the voyages and was accompanied by pork or hams in thirteen of those voyages. Beans and peas made up 18 percent of the exported foodstuffs. From these data, it is interesting to note that the exported pork, peas, and beans were distributed equally among the American colonies, the Caribbean, and Brit-

ain. However, as with corn, nearly two-thirds of the flour and bread went to the Caribbean—Barbados (nearly 80 percent of both flour and bread), Antigua, Bermuda, Jamaica, and St. Christopher's. Although many of the islands were home to large plantations, the Caribbean did not produce enough food to feed its immense number of slaves. It was more profitable to cultivate land to grow cash crops such as sugar.

Flax apparently thrived in the South River area. Stem fibers were used to make linen, or mixed with hemp fiber to make canvas for sailcloth. Flaxseed or linseed oil was used in treating wood for ships and household furniture. Many ships cleared the Naval Office in Annapolis with flaxseed bound for Cork in Ireland. This is a prime example of mercantilism. Flaxseed was produced in the colonies, sent to Ireland to be cultivated and made into linen that was, in turn, exported to the colonies in the form of fabrics for sale. It is very likely that planters in Maryland purchased linen fabric made from flaxseed that had come from their own farms. The flaxseed also could have been sent to facilities in Britain to manufacture linseed oil. None of the shipping records indicate that flax fiber was exported, only flaxseed. The fiber apparently remained in the colony and was used in domestic fabric production. Eighty percent of the flaxseed exported from Annapolis (15,550 bushels) was sent to the cities of Cork and Newry in Ireland. Only 14 percent went to Leith in Scotland (the port of Edinburgh), and 4 percent was sent to Falmouth in England. Less than 3 percent was sent to other colonies, 2 percent to Philadelphia, and less than 1 percent to New York.

Iron production was not a large part of the colonial economy but initially functioned within the British economy as a way to make profitable "remote and barren lands, as are now entirely useless and uncultivated."²⁰ Encouraged by the 1719 Maryland General Assembly, the colony's first ironworks, Principio (established c.1725), operated about sixty miles north of Annapolis.²¹ By 1748, Governor Samuel Ogle reported to the Board of Trade that "There are a great many Iron Mines and Several of them very good in the Province and there are Eight Furnaces for making Pig Iron & Nine forges for making Bar Iron."²² By 1776, Maryland had as many as eighteen iron furnaces and forges from which to recover iron from ore and undertake minimal refining. The furnace nearest to Annapolis was the Patuxent Iron Works owned by the Snowden family of Anne Arundel County. Another Anne Arundel family, the Dorseys, owned both a furnace and a forge in southern Baltimore County, located in Elkridge (established c.1755) and Avalon (established c. 1772).²³

Early iron production consisted of melting ore in blast furnaces to form cast-iron "pigs" or bar ingots. These were easy to transport and were sometimes used as ship ballast. As iron was too heavy to move in large shipments, it was often paired with other cargo in order not to waste valuable shipping space. The smallest shipment, only one ton, departed Annapolis for Madeira in October 1754 on the

ninety-five-ton *Christian*, George Watt, master. Iron made up only a small amount of the vessel's cargo. The remaining cargo consisted of 4,500 bushels of wheat and 6,000 pieces of staves and heading. Most commonly, iron was paired with staves and heading, grains, and tobacco. Only eight of the fifty-one voyages carried iron as its only cargo. The average shipment of iron sent from Annapolis was roughly twenty-four tons.

From 1754 to 1757, 68 percent or 826 out of 1,120 total tons of iron exported from Annapolis went to Britain, to the ports of Bristol, Biddeford, London, and Liverpool, with London receiving most of it (574 tons). Twenty-six percent of the shipments went to the American colonies of Virginia and North Carolina, and 6 percent went to the Caribbean. Only one shipment (one ton) was sent to the Portuguese Island of Madeira.

In 1750, Parliament passed the Iron Act, which prohibited colonists from manufacturing iron products and restricted them to supplying raw iron to England. This act, designed to protect British manufacturing and reinforce the colonies' role as supplier, also prohibited the colonies from making tools and from exporting iron to non-British countries.

Although Maryland's colonial economy may have been dependent on tobacco, it is clear from the shipping records that other commodities contributed to the mercantile system. Tobacco was shipped to London in exchange for European goods, but locally grown grain and foodstuffs were exported to the Caribbean and other North American colonies. Maryland grain and foodstuffs supported the Caribbean sugar economy. Flaxseed became Irish cloth. The distribution of trade reflects the importance of relationships between the American colonies and their trading partners. Over all, Great Britain (England, Scotland, and Ireland) was the destination for 41 percent of Anne Arundel County goods and produce. Other North American colonies made up 31 percent of the county's trade, and the Caribbean was third with 24 percent, although it has been shown that the Caribbean received foodstuffs rather than tobacco. The remaining trade (4 percent) was conducted with other places such as Nova Scotia and Portugal.

Trade in People: Imported Labor

Tobacco was a labor-intensive crop. It had to be planted, maintained, harvested, cured, packed, inspected, stored, and shipped. Maryland, like other plantation-based cash-crop economies, had to supplement its labor pool with servants—indentured, convict, and enslaved (Figure 3). Furthermore, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Maryland were the three great servant-importing colonies. Between 1754 and 1760, 2,252 people came through Annapolis in order supply labor to Anne Arundel County and beyond.²⁴ In addition to slaves, three other servant groups came into the colonies: convicts, sentenced to transportation by the British courts, indentured servants who voluntarily signed a contract in Britain be-

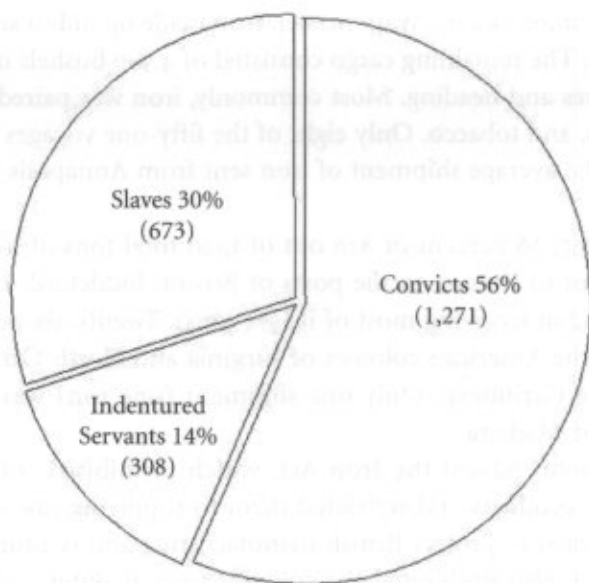


Figure 3: Types of Bound Immigrants Sent to Anne Arundel County, 1754–1760. Information from the Port of Annapolis, Naval Officer Records collected from the Maryland State Archives in Annapolis, Maryland, and the Public Record Office, Kew, London, England. See the following collections: Maryland State Archives, Port of Entry Collection, 1745–1775; Special Collections: SC2910 (M1002-A Microfilm) and Public Record Office, Treasury papers, 1557–1920: Items T1/359/2, 3, 4; 76999; T1/355/58, 59, 60; 76999; T1/374/50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59; 76999.

fore emigrating, and redemptioners—persons who signed no indenture in their home country but were given a certain number of days after arriving in the colonies to negotiate an indenture and pay for their passage.²⁵

England's judicial system used Maryland as a "dumping-ground" for its jails, and the colony received more convicts than any other colony on the continent. Convicts provided a steady source of white labor, since most convicted felons considered transportation to the colonies preferable to hanging. Twenty-four of the documented 365 incoming voyages to Annapolis carried convict servants. From 1754 to 1760, Anne Arundel County received at least 1,271 criminals. The convict ships came from London, Bristol, Falmouth, and Biddeford. More than 54 percent came from the London area and its overflowing prisons. Almost 80 percent of convicts were men, but women and young boys were also sent away for their crimes.²⁶ "This morning there was sent from hence forty-six women for Theft and Whoredom under Strong Guard for Lochrayan to be Ship'd off then to Maryland," reported a Scottish newspaper in 1706. It seems that one's fate could depend upon the criminal court to which one was assigned. At London's chief criminal court, the Old Bailey, "more than two-thirds of all felons from 1718 to 1775 were ordered for exile" or transportation to the colonies.²⁷

The length of time a convict was banished was based on both the crime and his/her social standing. The court that tried prisoners was given full power to order transportation of any person convicted of crimes subject to benefit of clergy. The term of this class of felon was a fixed seven years. Persons convicted of crimes without benefit of clergy received a term of fourteen years. Some of the most serious offenders were banished for life. The greatest numbers of seven-year passengers sent to the plantations were common criminals, men and women of all ages and descriptions. As it happened, those who could afford to buy their way out of minor crimes could go free. In some cases, convicts could purchase their freedom from the person contracted for transporting them. These convicts were allowed to "escape" after paying off the master of the vessel.²⁸

Ship captains sold convicts into temporary bondage. The convicts had very few rights and were required to work for those who contracted to keep them for the duration of their sentence. The purchaser paid the cost of transport in return for labor. If the convict broke the terms of his sentence—i.e., committed other crimes, tried to run away, or became pregnant—the local court sentenced the accused to serve the county. Convicts, managed during bondage by county law, often served additional time. Maryland justices and sheriffs enforced the regulations regarding convict behavior.²⁹

Most indentured servants, on the other hand, entered into voluntarily agreements. Terms varied in length from one to five years for adults, longer in the case of minors. All males eighteen years of age or older who came to the colonies without a prearranged indenture (e.g., a redemptioner) were expected to serve terms of four years from the date of arrival. If under eighteen years of age the law required them to serve until the age of twenty-four. The terms for female servants were a little more forgiving. Women over the age of twelve served four years, and those under twelve worked for seven years. Whatever terms were fixed by the indenture were binding in a court of law and enforced by the authorities in Maryland. During the term of indenture, the servant could be involved in any type of labor, but most carried out plantation work or household duties. The owner provided food, lodging, and clothing for the servant and, upon completion of their service, each received "freedom dues" that included a new suit of clothing, shoes, three barrels of corn, and planting tools.³⁰ Much like the convict servants, all of the indentured servants who entered the Port of Annapolis were from ports in mainland England.

During the period 1754–60, fifteen ships brought 308 indentured servants to Anne Arundel County. Most trickled in at one, three, or five per voyage (ten of the voyages carried fewer than thirteen). Some ships carried many servants. Three voyages in 1757 transported sixty-nine (the *Eugene*), seventy-seven (the *Tryal*), and seventy-five (the *Frisby*) indentured servants, respectively, 221 in one year. Voluntary servitude was a temporary status somewhere between freedom and

Table 2: Sources of Goods Imported into the Port of Annapolis, Maryland from 1754 to 1761

Rum		Salt	
Caribbean	81%	American Colonies	42%
American Colonies	19%	Massachusetts	45%
New York	62%	New York	17%
Massachusetts	23%	Rhode Island	17%
Pennsylvania	10%	Pennsylvania	13%
Rhode Island	5%	Virginia	4%
		Delaware	4%
		Caribbean	38%
		England	17%
		Other Destinations	3%
Molasses			
American Colonies	64%		
Massachusetts	63%		
Rhode Island	26%		
Pennsylvania	8%		
New York	3%		
Caribbean	36%		

Information from the Port of Annapolis, Naval Officer Records collected from the Maryland State Archives in Annapolis, Maryland and the Public Record Office, Kew, London, England. See the following collections: Maryland State Archives, Port of Entry Collection, 1745–1775; Special Collections: SC2910 (M1002-A Microfilm) and Public Record Office, Treasury Papers, 1557–1920: Items T1/359/2, 3, 4; 76999; T1/355/58, 59, 60; 76999; T1/374/50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59; 76999.

slavery, and upon arrival in colonial port the servant was displayed on the deck of the ship and sold to the highest bidder much like a slave.³¹

Slavery was a well-established practice in Maryland by the mid-eighteenth century. Imported to work on both large and small plantations, by 1755, 30 percent of Maryland's population consisted of slaves.³² The Port of Annapolis records show that a minimum of 673 slaves were imported from 1754 to 1760 (although there were no shipments recorded in 1755, 1756, and 1757). The actual number is probably higher. In the twelve documented voyages, most of the ships arrived from the Caribbean (eight), but these only carried forty-four slaves. A ship from London brought one slave, and a Virginia vessel conveyed thirty slaves to Annapolis in 1760. Most of the slaves (598) were brought to Maryland directly from Africa in only two voyages. The first ship (the *Upton*, a vessel of 180 tons, Thomas Birch, master) arrived in 1759. Twenty-five sailors manned the seventeen-gun ship, protecting its cargo from pirates. The *Upton* brought 205 slaves from Gambia in Africa. The second ship, the *Jenny*, a square-built vessel of 120 tons, John Wilkinson, master, was manned by thirty-five men, carried ten guns, and transported 393 slaves from an unspecified location in Africa in 1760. Both ships were registered in Liverpool.

Imported Foods

Mercantilism required colonists to import among other things the ingredients of everyday food preparation. According to archaeologist Olive Jones, “the completely self-sufficient household, in Britain or in North America, in terms of food production probably did not exist in the eighteenth century, at any level of society, in either rural or urban settings.” As previously outlined, Anne Arundel Countians exported food, but they also imported staples such as sugar, salt, coffee, tea, salted fish and molasses, as well as rum and wine.³³

These commodities supported the “triangle trade” between England, Africa, and the North American colonies and Caribbean islands. For example, this system involved sugar from the Caribbean plantation owners who exported their crop to the North American colonies and Britain. New England colonists used the sugar and its processing by-product, molasses, to make rum, which was then shipped to other colonies as well as Africa, and thus used in trade for slaves. African slaves, purchased with British manufactured goods, went to both the Caribbean and North American colonies where they worked with raw materials such as sugar cane, tobacco, and iron ore. In turn, these raw materials were sent to Britain, processed, and then sold to the colonies and the islands in the form of manufactured goods such as refined sugar, fabric, and metal wares.

Rum seems to have been the most popular comestible in the colonies during the eighteenth century. It was produced in the Caribbean and in New England and consumed throughout British North America. The Anne Arundel County court regulated the prices tavern keepers could charge for alcoholic beverages (as well as food, lodging, and pasturage for horses).³⁴ Rum drinks appear prominently on these lists and were among the most affordable alcoholic beverages (second only to locally produced beer). Rum punch, made with rum, sugar, and lime juice, was a popular drink in both the colonies and Britain.

Of the 365 incoming voyages to Anne Arundel County, 124 ships brought 3,126 hogsheads (or 196,938 gallons) of rum from 1754 to 1761.³⁵ One would expect that the Caribbean would have been the sole source for rum traded to Maryland, as it was a principal place of manufacture, and the Port of Annapolis records do show that 81 percent of the rum came directly from the Caribbean: Barbados (the greatest portion, 45 percent), Antigua, Bermuda, St. Christopher’s, St. Stephen’s, and Montserrat. Nearly 20 percent, however, came from New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island. Less than 1 percent came from Virginia, South Carolina, and Nova Scotia. This intercolonial trade shows the retail nature of coastal exchange. Colonies imported rum but then traded it for regional goods produced by other colonies, or in the case of Rhode Island, imported molasses and produced their own rum for export.

Salt, used everywhere in the preparation and preservation of food, was made by boiling seawater or taking it from natural formations.³⁶ Salt from Portugal’s

Cape Verde Islands supplied the cod fishers in Newfoundland; the mineral was harvested from natural formations (crust formed on salt ponds and shallow lagoons) in the Caribbean from the Dutch Antilles, Anguilla, and the Turks Islands. By the time of the American Revolution, colonists were producing their own salt in New England, particularly Cape Cod, by natural evaporation. One traditional location for British salt production (boiling water in salt pans) was Cheshire, near Liverpool, and dates back to the Roman occupation.³⁷ Anne Arundel County exported large quantities of ham and pork preserved with salt and water and packed into barrels. Salt was also used in the processing of animal hides.

Between 1754 and 1761, 56,661 bushels of salt were imported through Annapolis, forming part of the cargo of fifty-eight of the 365 incoming voyages. The ships carrying salt came from the Caribbean (38 percent), as well as England (17 percent). A very small number (3 percent) came from other areas such as Madeira and Halifax, Nova Scotia. However, there is no indication where the salt was produced. The highest percentage of salt-carrying ships came from other American colonies (42 percent), such as Massachusetts (45 percent of the total), New York and Rhode Island (both 17 percent) and Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Delaware (21 percent collectively). Salt shipments from American colonies probably consisted of re-exported products. The single largest shipment (5,400 bushels) came from Southampton, England. The average voyage contained 944 bushels and the smallest only twenty-five bushels.

North American colonists also used sugar to prepare and preserve foods and drinks. Sugar came into the Annapolis port on almost 30 percent (98 of 365) of the 1754–61 voyages. These cargoes contained brown (unrefined) and white sugar. Characteristically, most of the sugar came from Barbados in the Caribbean (over 100,000 pounds). Sugar was another commodity that saw a high level of intercolonial trade. Of the ninety-eight voyages to Annapolis, fifty-seven were from other colonies. New York, with 38 percent of the voyages, appears to have dominated this intercolonial trade. Massachusetts and Rhode Island together sent 50 percent of the ships. Only a small number of ships left Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Delaware, and Virginia.

Molasses, another sweetener from the Caribbean, was like sugar produced from sugar cane. Both are by-products of boiling sugar cane juice but molasses is the main ingredient in rum. From 1754 to 1761, 171 hogsheads of molasses (10,773 gallons) were imported through the Port of Annapolis. Twenty-four voyages originated in other British North American colonies and fifteen sailed directly from the Caribbean. Logic would hold that the most molasses would come directly from its place of production (the Caribbean), but shipping records indicate otherwise. Sixty-five percent of the molasses imported to Anne Arundel County came from other colonies—6,845 gallons from the colonies as compared to 3,934 gallons directly from the Caribbean. The New England colonies imported large quan-

tities of molasses for rum production and apparently profited from intercolonial exchange. Molasses also came from Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and New York and is an example of manufacture and retail sale as opposed to wholesale trade. Rum was one of the only commodities the colonies were permitted to manufacture.

Eighteenth-century Anne Arundel Countians also enjoyed their wine. The beverage appears prominently on the liquor price lists the county issued in attempt to regulate taverns. Port, Canary, Sherry, Rhenish, Florence, Phial, claret, and Madeira were available in the county.³⁸ Between 1754 and 1761, 245 pipes (a large cask of 126 gallons used for transportation) of wine containing 30,870 gallons were imported to Annapolis in twenty-four voyages.³⁹ Most lists simply noted "wine" with no indication of its variety or origin. However, two types of wine were noted in the cargo lists, Madeira and claret.⁴⁰ The single largest source of Madeira wine was the Portuguese island of the same name. The size of the shipments from Madeira (forty-seven pipes in one 1759 voyage) is an example of wholesale shipping directly from the region of production. Although 45 percent of the wine was imported from wine producing areas, nearly the same amount came from other American colonies in the form of intercolonial retail trade. Other colonies such as Virginia, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New York dealt in the re-exportation of wine.

The Port of London Town

Unfortunately, because it had no customhouse (Annapolis was the official port of entry for this area of Anne Arundel County) there are no port records for London Town, and shipping data must be retrieved from the Port of Annapolis records. By the 1750s, London Town's economic vitality waned. Between 1754 and 1762, twelve ships totaling nineteen voyages traded with London Town. Four of these vessels were built in Maryland: *Buchanan*, 1752 (150 tons); *Unity*, 1755 (30 tons); *Robert & Ann*, 1747 (100 tons) and *Polly*, 1750 (100 tons).

The vessels cleared at the Port of Annapolis and took their cargo (or ballast) south to London Town to exchange it for tobacco for the return voyages to England.⁴¹ Incoming voyages brought "sundry European goods" loaded upon "crockets" or pallets of like goods from one merchant or manufacturer.⁴² These ships varied in size from sixty to 150 tons with crews of from nine to fourteen seamen. Many ships were armed, and after 1754 all vessels traveling to London Town carried defensive munitions. In July 1757 the *Robert & Anne* (David Lewis, master) and *Betsey* (John White, master) apparently traveling in convoy, entered the port of Annapolis. They brought their European goods and stayed for two months, taking on tobacco in the South River.⁴³ The one-hundred-ton *Robert & Anne* took on 317 hogsheads of tobacco and the 120-ton *Betsey* took on 365 hogsheads. They both also loaded wood products as well as twenty-five and thirty tons

of iron, respectively. The *Betsey* was well known at London Town, for mariner William Strachan, a town resident, was often her master. All of the vessels trading with London Town dealt with a handful of English merchants: John Buchanan, Bryan and Thomas Philpot, William Perkins and the Sydenham and Hodgson Company, all of London.⁴⁴

Conclusion on Anne Arundel County Trade

It is clear from the data that residents of Anne Arundel County could expect to receive all manner of goods in exchange for their tobacco or other crops. They could visit London Town and sell their tobacco as well as partake of Caribbean rum and wine from Europe. They could call on London Town merchants and purchase sundry European goods brought home by London Town mariners. County residents had access to the world market via Annapolis and London Town. They traded local produce such as wheat, corn, wood, and flaxseed, in addition to tobacco, to ports around the world. Residents of Anne Arundel County could secure labor for their plantations by engaging an indentured or convict servant, or they could purchase slaves. Annapolis was the location of a slave market and was one of the major ports of debarkation for slaves in Maryland. Anne Arundel County and its tobacco port of London Town actively participated in worldwide trade. The data presented here demonstrate dependence on trade for the ingredients of everyday life, labor, and a market for produce. They also show the importance of tobacco towns as places to assemble, store, and sell the colony's cash crop—the main economic stimulus in colonial Maryland. This study of port records also shows that Anne Arundel County's economy was not totally dependent on tobacco nor was it the only produce grown for exportation. In Maryland, wheat, corn, and other vegetables grown for export are generally associated with the nineteenth century when "truck farming" became very popular.⁴⁵ This study provides additional evidence that the shift from tobacco started much earlier. Port records, which document the extent and nature of intercolonial trade, show that the exportation of Maryland produce has a long history that has not been fully investigated.

NOTES

1. This study employed Port of Annapolis Records. See Port Entry Collection 1745–1775, Special Collections, SC2910, Maryland State Archives and PRO, Treasury Papers, 1557–1920, Collection 76999; T1/359, 355, 374, Public Record Office, Great Britain. Not until 1710 was the administrative system deemed efficient enough to preclude tinkering until the 1760s. The lack of records for Maryland is nevertheless somewhat surprising, since Maryland and Virginia had the highest number of customs officials. Maryland's customs collectors were located at Patuxent, North Potomac, and Pocomoke Rivers. Customs surveyors resided at Annapolis

(the capital), Wicomicco (also spelled Wicomico) and Munni, Williamstadt, Bahama, and Sassafras Rivers. A riding surveyor oversaw the Potomac River. Many things led to a large backlog and interference in the customs service. Customs administrators were far away in England, leaving many local officials to their own devices, with little or no official oversight. War and its associated confusion led to poor management. There were only six years of peace between 1739 and 1763. The gaps are numerous, but at least the trade of the county can be outlined and some activities at London Town illustrated. The story emerging from the records of Annapolis helps to provide a view of commerce and economic forces in the area immediately surrounding London Town.

2. In 1754, the snow *Beaumont*, James Hovell, master, was moored in the South River waiting the ship with tobacco. From the PRO, Port of Annapolis Records T1.355/60, Mid-Summer Quarter, 1754. Tobacco ships varied greatly in size during the colonial period. Ships visiting the port of Annapolis during the period 1754–57 averaged 111 tons and held an average of 279 hogsheads of tobacco. The smallest tobacco ships were only thirty tons and the largest 250 tons.

3. After 1747, the Maryland Assembly passed a regulation that required planters to use sanctioned tobacco inspection warehouses to store their tobacco until it was shipped to Britain. This was an attempt to improve the quality of Maryland tobacco. This act was not implemented immediately and there are very few primary records to show compliance. See William Hand Browne, et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland*, 44:454.

4. “Masters of ships, before taking on tobacco freight, shall publish, under their hands, by a note fixed on the County Court House door, at what rate they will receive tobacco upon freight per ton; which note shall be recorded by the County Clerk.” See *Archives of Maryland*, 75:668.

5. Maryland had six maritime regions during the colonial period; Annapolis, Cecil, North Potomac, Oxford, Patuxent, and Pocomoke. London Town was located in the Annapolis region. Edward C. Papenfuse, et al., *Archives of Maryland, Historical List*, vol. 1 (Annapolis: Maryland State Archives, 1990).

6. This record set is from the Maryland State Archives, Land Records Office, Provincial Court 1705–1762. Ship captains were required to record, with the court, their tonnage rate for tobacco. Each record lists the ship name, the captain’s name, his freight rate, as well as the river location of his ship. The captains would stay in the river until the ship was full. See data set compiled by Jacob M. Hemphill in “Tobacco Freight Rates in the Maryland Tobacco Trade, 1705–1762,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 55 (1959): 36–58. Hemphill used the data to track freight rates for tobacco. The author used the same data to trace the number of ships to each river in Anne Arundel County to show patterns of shipping in the county.

7. James F. Shepherd and Gary M. Walton, *Shipping, Maritime Trade and the Economic Development of Colonial North America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 31.

8. John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America 1607–1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 39.

9. For London Town this is also reflected in the land records. Population growth was most dramatic during the first half of the eighteenth century and continued until the end of the colonial period. In 1712, the population was estimated at 46,159. By 1755, it had grown to 155,363 and to 319,728 by 1790. This increase resulted in the growth of markets and imports. For population statistics see *Arch.Md.*, 25:255, 265, 358; Edward C. Papenfuse, and Joseph M. Coale III, *Atlas of Historical Maps of Maryland, 1608–1908* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 37 (from “The Population of Maryland, 1755,” *Gentleman’s Magazine* 34 [1764]); U.S. Bureau of Census, *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken*

in the Year 1790: *Maryland* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1965), 8, 9; Shepherd and Walton, *Economic Development*, 37.

10. Shepherd and Walton, *Economic Development*, 37–38. Taxes and other measures imposed by Parliament following the Seven Years' War to pay the costs of the war—the Sugar Act (or Revenue Act), the Quartering Act, the Currency Act, and the 1765 Stamp Act—adversely affected trade and the American economy.

11. Sherry Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 1.

12. *Ibid.*, 4. Tithable: individual heads of household who were subject to payment of the tithe (usually 10 percent of their income or worth) to support the church. In the colonies, these were usually freemen landholders with plantations.

13. Baltimore was not strictly a tobacco port, and by the 1750s its economy was beginning to shift to concentrate on the exportation of wheat and flour. The city provided Pennsylvania farmers with mills and transportation for their goods to the islands. For more on the history of Baltimore, see Olson, *Baltimore*.

14. The data are not chronologically complete. The periods covered are January–December 1754, January–April 1755, October–December 1756, January–December 1757, January–December 1758, January–December 1759, January–December 1760, and January–March 1761. These records were chosen because they were the most complete of this very fragmented resource. During these periods, eight reports were filed each year; four entering and four clearing for each quarter. These data consist of thirty Naval Officer Report Sheets. The total data-set, if extant, would have consisted of fifty-six Naval Officer Report Sheets for the period under consideration.

15. The administrative quarters were: January to April–Lady Day Quarter; April to July–Midsummer Quarter; July to October–Michaelmas Quarter; October to January–Christmas Quarter.

16. Staves and heading are the unassembled parts of barrels and hogsheds.

17. The number from the port records is 481,227, but this number may be low, because some of the clearing records did not note the number of pieces but simply “staves and heading.”

18. Port of Annapolis Records for 1757, PRO.

19. During the eighteenth century the weight contained in a hogsheds, a large wooden cask used to transport dry goods such as tobacco, varied although it was regulated by the crown and by the provincial government of Maryland. In 1704, the crown established the dimensions of “the size of forty six inches in length and thirty inches in the head and the same hogsheds or any of them shall pack full of Tobacco.” See *Arch.Md.*, 23:330–31. By 1718 the size had changed, the hogsheds dimensions were a little smaller, but the hogsheds was required to hold 500 lbs. of tobacco. See *Arch.Md.*, 36:507–10. Furthermore, by 1763 a hogsheds was required to weigh no more than 1,000 lbs. This included the weight of the construction materials (i.e. wooden staves and nails) and the contents. (See *Arch.Md.*, 75:607–8.) From the Port of Annapolis Records, it appears that a hogsheds of tobacco weighed 1,000 lbs. and a hogsheds of liquid, usually rum, held 100 gallons during the period under study, 1754–1762.

20. *Arch.Md.*, 33:467–69.

21. Ronald L. Lewis, “The Use and Extent of Slave Labor in the Chesapeake Iron Industry: The Colonial Era,” *Labor History*, 17 (1976): 392. Principico is located near modern-day Perryville, Cecil County, Maryland.

22. *Arch.Md.*, 28:469.

23. Ronald L. Lewis, *Coal, Iron and Slaves: Industrial Slavery in Maryland and Virginia, 1715–1865* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979), 224; John W. McGrain, “The Development and Decline of Dorsey's Forge,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 72 (1977): 346.

24. Eugene Irving McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland, 1634–1820*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1904), 30.
25. The Naval Office Records stipulate no difference between indentured servants and redemptioners.
26. Breakdown of gender comes from the study of British Assize Circuits (court) records found in: A. Roger Ekirch, *Bound for America: The Transportation of British Convicts to the Colonies, 1718–1775* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 48–49.
27. McCormac, *White Servitude*, 98; Eric Williams, *Capitalism & Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 11; *Edinburgh Courant*, January 28, 1706; A. Roger Ekirch, “Bound for America: A Profile of British Convicts Transported to the Colonies, 1718–1755,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 42 (1985): 184.
28. McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland*, 95, 99, 100. For the latter half of the eighteenth century, benefit of clergy noted one’s ability to read and write. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, literacy was usually limited to the clergy and nobility who were given special privileges based on their education.
29. *Arch.Md.*, 36:82.
30. McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland*, 37–44.
31. John Wareing, *Emigrants to America: Indentured Servants Recruited in London, 1718–1733* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1985), 9.
32. Papenfuse and Coale, *Atlas of Historical Maps of Maryland*, 37; “The Population of Maryland, 1755,” *Gentleman’s Magazine* 34, (1764).
33. Olive R. Jones, “Commercial Foods, 1740–1820,” *Historical Archaeology*, 27 (no. 2, 1993): 25.
34. Tavern or ordinary keepers were required to have a license to operate an ordinary in Anne Arundel County. Every few years the county would set prices for food, drinks, and lodging. Tavern keepers were required to post these price lists or be fined by the county. See Anne Arundel County Court Judgements, Liber IB2, folio 224, 1737, MSA.
35. Based on the measurement that one hogshead of liquid equaled 63 gallons.
36. Jones, “Commercial Foods,” 29.
37. See Mark Kurlansky, *Salt: A World History* (New York: Walker and Company, 2002), 180, 207–9, 222–23.
38. Anne Arundel County Court Judgements [Liquor Rates], Liber IB2, folio 244; 1737 and Liber IB2, folio 98; 1751 and Liber IB6, folio 215; 1746, MSA. White sugar was refined from brown or blond sugar that was processed minimally in the Caribbean. The process of boiling, crystallization and cooling produced varying distillations of the granular by-product. The highest quality refined sugar came from England. Partially processed loaf sugar was sent to England from the Caribbean, further refined, and exported to the colonies. On ship manifests, it was measured by weight in pounds and by volume in hogsheads and barrels. This inconsistent packaging and accounting method is a result of the different forms of sugar (i.e., brown, single refined or loaf, and double refined).
39. For eighteenth-century trading weights and measures, see Edward Hatton, *The Merchants Magazine: or Trades Man’s Treasury 6th Edition* (London, 1712), s.v VI, “The Tables of Wine-measure to be used in Addition and Subtraction.” Wine was imported in pipes (126 gallons), hogsheads (63 gallons), and quarter casks (16 gallons).
40. A red wine generally associated with the Bordeaux region of France.
41. Established by comparing Port of Annapolis Records (from MSA and PRO) and South River Freight Rate Records (Hemphill, aforementioned).
42. A container of varying size, derived from the word crock, meaning vessel. The goods on

these crockets were not detailed. A vessel was recorded as simply having 5, 10, or 15 (or more) crockets of European goods.

43. From the Port of Annapolis Records located at the PRO. Call number T1/374.55; 76999; Midsummer Quarter and Michaelmas Quarters, 1757.

44. There were Philpots in Annapolis and Baltimore who were apparently acting as factors or partners in the trading with Anne Arundel County. See *Arch.Md.*, 61:316, and 28:452.

45. Willard R. Mumford, *Strawberries, Peas, & Beans: Truck Farming in Anne Arundel County*. (Linthicum, Md.: Anne Arundel Historical Society, 2000), 2.

Letters of a Maryland Confederate

Edited by ROBERT W. SCHOEBERLEIN and ANDREW BRETHAUER

In 1860, Franklin Voss, the son of a well-to-do Baltimore hardware merchant went off to study at the University of Virginia. Clean shaven, of average build, sometimes sickly, he still enjoyed the pleasures and pursuits of youth—days spent outdoors hunting, carousing with friends, billiard games that lasted well into the night. Perpetually out of cash, he peppered his family with requests for money. Usually diligent about his studies, Frank, as he was called, nevertheless cut an occasional class when drawn by something more interesting.

As secession gathered momentum, he joined a militia unit and began to drill. Thinking that the university would close once conflict commenced (it did not, remaining open through the war), Frank withdrew from his studies, joined the 1st Maryland Infantry, and served as a private in Company C. Sporting a dapper grey uniform and a fashionable goatee and moustache, he embarked on the greatest adventure of his young life. He wrote to his family more or less regularly until his death. The originals of these letters reside in the Voss Family Collection [MSA SC 2728] at the Maryland State Archives.

A note on editorial method: The editors have made minor changes in punctuation and capitalization for purposes of clarification. Voss's spelling is unchanged.

Baltimore, July 20th [1860]

Dear Ned,

Your interesting & "newsy" letter was duly recd., and read with great pleasure; I have only regret that a recital of my occupations & pastimes, though by no means a lengthy one, would not afford as much entertainment. Repetitions at most are tedious, but much more so are they, when the subject itself is of no interest, I shall therefore, from consideration for you, omit the larger part of what amounts to an almost daily routine, and in that way speak only of the few amusements at this dull season. These have, since the fourth, been quite briskly kept up "considerin." [T]he fourth you know we spent at Burney's, and we were well requited even for the excessive troubles and vexations, which we experienced in getting there, I never had such shooting in my life, the woodcock were as thick as midges, the advantage of such nos. was counterbalanced somewhat, however,

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by the thickness of the woods, in which it was often quite difficult to see them. [A]fter a persevering hunt of about nine hours, we (four of us) succeeded in bagging thirty seven, of these I killed 11, Harry Sullivan 16, Steve Clarke 7 and Pat 2, Clarke & Pat hunted Mingo,¹ who is no account, Harry & Jack. Our late arrival was caused by the sickness of one of the horses; the hostler gave him clover, & clover gave him colic, . . . We got home that night at one. Since you left, Sam & I have been taking all the advantages to be derived from billiards[,] fishing for perch & taylor[,]² seeing the "B s" nightly & various other little amusements. We are all very well & manage, notwithstanding the weather, which is intensely warm, to exist very comfortably. Ma is enjoying herself highly at various parts of New York, She has been on board the Great Eastern, saw the wonderful drill of the Zouaves of Chicago, goes frequently to Staten island where she enjoys delightful seabathing & the elegant drives on the beach. She was also at the camp of the celebrated Seventh regiment, with which she was delighted, it being one of grandest spectacle ever witnessed. We expect her home by next Mo., when Sue, I expect, will go to New Port. She in the meantime is going to Acchia[?] Carroll's. Give my love to Jessie, Willie, Dodie, and to all at Hawthorne & Montpelier. Tell that good old fella Thornton that, though I've not written him, that he is ever uppermost in my esteem & friendship. I will write him soon. Take care of yourselves, keep out of mischief, & be prudent. Your affectionate brother, Frank

Tell S to take care of that pup. I am much in need of a dog. F Voss

Carr's Hill,³ University Va. Oct 3rd Wedy. [1860]

Dear Father,

I write this morning to do what I failed to do last night, viz, to enclose my certificate of Matriculation. This morning we stood a preliminary examination in Latin, a very simple & easy one, which I have no apprehension in passing it was only to decide who were fit for the Sen. Class. We now go to Math., when the classes will be arranged. If it is not convenient to send me the entire \$44, you will please send me what is absolutely necessa[ry] to pay Mrs Carr, \$33. The other was to by wood & curtains; the wood will be purchased for the entire winter. The fare here is excellent and our fellow boarders are very pleasant & gentlemanly, on the whole I am very content, and the only thing wanting to my perfect satisfaction, is frequent news from home assuring me of the welfare & happiness of all there.

Your affectionate Son Frank. "In Great Haste."

Carrs' Hill, University Va. Dec 5th 1860

Dearest Ma.

...

I am happy to be able to satisfy any apprehensions you may have as to the way in which I spend my Sundays; I rise about 8 o'clock, take my breakfast and do

nothing until Church time, the same from 1 o'clock to dinner time, after dinner we meet in each other's rooms, or walk or visit at 7, go to church or to chapel. On Wednesday nights prayer meetings are held in different places through the College, to night I attended one in Pendleton's room, next W.N it will be held in our's. Altogether, unless you get in with a hard crowd, this place is not all calculated to make a *man* (as *all here* are termed) dissipated. . . . I remain as ever your affectionate Son Frank

P. S. Please send by the next mail some stamps, mine are all out. Don't forget!

Carr's Hill. Univ. Va. Dec 13th [1860]

Dear Ned.

. . . Your letter was very welcome and gave me much pleasure, and I had hoped to [text torn] you oftener; you must write to me frequently [text torn] me all the news about things in Baltimore [text torn] the girls and "*fellers*," about the political [text torn] affairs, the military, Maryland & City [text torn] about the preparations for Xmas, the topics of the day and things in general. . . . We on the hill with a few others have formed a company of which the captain & first lieutenant are graduates of Lexington Va, the other officers are a lieutenant of a Richmond Co and a former member of a company in St. Louis. The uniform is a blue flannel jacket, black pants & foraging caps. We have elected the chairman of the faculty Major, and have taken measures to get arms, and expect soon to be at work. I joined for the exercise and to learn the manual more than for anything else. . . . Excuse this scrawl and write soon to your affectionate brother

Frank Voss

[on reverse of letter above]

I wrote this yesterday but failed to send it. And am deeply distressed that what I saw by to day's paper is the occasion of my opening it. I was informed a few moments ago of a devastating conflagration in Baltimore St, in which to my horror & surprise I saw that father's store had been burnt & all his goods destroyed. that his loss was ten thousand dollars. I sincerely hope that the amt. is not so large as the papers state. It is a terrible thing indeed & especially [text torn] father already has so many trials. his papers [text torn] were saved and I hope that matters may be [text torn] without great difficulty, and that *God* [text torn] be with him in his trouble, for He is our only [text torn] of need. Tell Mother to write me immediately and tell me all the particulars. You have no idea what a terrible thing it is to be away from home & take part in sharing our family troubles. God grant that dear father and all of you may bear up under this great loss, *great* indeed for so large a part of it. I hope & pray that if the papers have made a mistake in the statement that it is in fathers' favor. By all means endeavor to comfort him, & aid him to bear up under it. Tell Mother to write me by the next

mail giving me all the particulars and telling me what father intends doing. Show her this letter as soon as you read it. I am so upset that I will be unfitted for anything until I hear from you. Your affectionate brother Frank

Carr's Hill Univ. Va. Jan. 14th/61

Dear Mother,

. . . We are busy here from morning to night, having scarcely any time for exercise & recreation. I am delighted to hear of Father's sales of the "hard" ware, and hope they will be so rapid as to relieve him of it before the Union is dissolved; in order that in that way we may move or be *driven*, perhaps, South taking our "all" with us. I hope, however, that affairs will never come to this pass, but, that if we do secede, we may be allowed to do so in peace, and not be forced to the use of arms in maintaining our rights. I wrote to Father some days since, and mentioned that I would like you to send me a vest and pants of the same material as Willie's, and made by Hilberg; please send at the same time a vial of that iron that Dr B. prescribed for me, I have suffering a little lately from that same old complaint, and wish to check it now. Give my love to Father, brother George, Sue Jessie, Willie, Ned & Dodie tell them to write to me often, and tell me all about things at home, and the state of affairs in Maryland. . . . I would like *very much* to have the papers sent me. "Good night dear Ma," good night all," your affectionate Son Frank

Carr's Hill Univ. Va. Febr. 4th 1861.

Dear Dodie.

. . . On Saturday we had an examination in Mathematics, the hardest by *far* (every one says) that has been put up for years; . . . In Latin & Greek getting on quite well, will give Math. another trial next year. Our uniform, which consists of a cap like those of the fatigue dress of the M.G., and black pantaloons, with a light blue shirt buttoned with a single row of Virginia buttons to the throat & a red standing collar and red cuffs, white belt & plate[,] Gloves etc; our uniform, I say, will cost four dollars which we are to pay on Friday next, when it will be here. I wish you would tell Father please to send me \$30.00. I have been getting credited for everything ever since I came down. . . . I should like to have participated in so agreeable a party as that of Sue's must have been. We have nothing of the sort here, I am quite glad of though, Dod, for we can't get our lessons and run after the gals too, can we? I would be very unwise to *run* after them *here any* way, because we would soon stick in the mud which is now knee-deep. The time begins to pass quite rapidly and July will soon be here, what may happen in the meantime is hard to tell, may be we will be living in a Southern Confederacy, may be this & may be that; there is no telling when you may stumble on a "*duck's nest*" or walk into the "Sign of the Gilmor House; however that is neither here nor___ yes it is *there*, but

that's not what I want to tell you. Mr. Marie is down town at the Parish House, and I'm going to see him directly. Take good care of yourself, study hard, hold up straight, take plenty of exercise; and when you come down here you'll "*jerk things*." Give my love to Father & Mother, bro Geo., Sue, Jessie, Willie & Ned. Write to me soon & I will answer your letter within three days. I am quite well & hope you all are the same. Tell Pa please to send the above by Thursday; if inconvenient to send the whole then, at least \$4.00. Good bye Dod, write to me soon. your affectionate Frank

[early 1861] Carr's Hill Univ. Va.

Dear Brother.

. . . Maryland, well, I wont say. I am sorry, but the next thing to it to know is still in the United States; I don't wish her to take any premature and singular step, but do most heartily wish that she & old Virginia joined hand and hand, as they were in the Revolution, would leave the remnant of the Disunited States, and help to constitute a Southern Confederacy. I don't say this in a spirit of boasting and idle talk, but so I sincerely think, and such is my idea of what Maryland ought to do; if she be true to the South, as I am sure she *is*, she will have to secede sooner or later and why not now; she ought at least to be making some preparation for her defence in such an event; and should give some expression of her sentiments, in order that the South may know what to expect from her. Hicks & Winter Davis⁴ have conferences almost daily, and he (Hicks) being the exponent of the people of Maryland causes much mistrust in the bosoms of many Southerners as regards the future conduct of Maryland; they, judging of course from Hick's conduct, think she is rather inclined to the North. There is no hope of an adjustment either by compromise or reconstruction.

Ex secretary Floyd, & Senator Brown of Mississippi⁵ spoke in the town hall on the 16th ultimo, and gave every one who heard them great good and indisputable reasons to fear terrible things from the North, who, they both showed, would make no concessions whatever. Mr. B. said that not long since in the Senate Mr Crittenden arose, and, forgetting through his great earnestness and feeling, the proper decorum, turned his back to the Vice-President, and addressing the Republicans poured forth a continual flow of eloquence for three quarters of an hour; and what do you suppose these rascals were doing, they were reading the newspapers, their mails, and writing letters. Gov. Floyd also revealed things that would make you start and swear to shoot every Coercionist you met. Coercionists he clearly proved are abolitionists in the most aggravated phase. General Scott is a grand old scoundrel, and has been endeavoring to become dictator, and has surrounded the South with garrisons in all of the forts. We burnt the old Gent in effigy a few nights since, an act which the American alias (the submissionist) very sharply reprehended. Our Co[.] is pretty well under way, we have organized

acco[rding] to law and are now attached to the 78th regiment of the Virginia Militia. Our captain & Lieutenant have received their commissions of office from the Governor, and in a week we'll be uniformed, and in about two more weeks will have our arms. the uniform is a blue cap with the letters M.G. on the front, a blue shirt faced with red with two rows of the Virginia button, black pants, white belt with plate etc. Give my love to all at home, I recd the bottle & Ma's letter which I will soon answer. Yrs. affectionately. F Voss

University Va. March 3rd, 1861.

My dearest Ma:

I received your very welcome and affectionate letter yesterday; . . . I *was & always* am glad to hear of the welfare of all the members of my much beloved family; and have it in my power to say that I have been blessed with very good health. Our drill is a great thing; we will have our arms & accoutrements next Wednesday: Our Co[.] is the object of envy to all the Co.s of the county; we were highly complimented & commended by the Charlottesville Review a few weeks since, we now no[.] 84, which is our limit. An insurrection of the Negroes was talked of a few days ago in this County, some of them together with a white man were arrested (so it is reported); to night in coming out of Chapel the Rector or Col. McKennie (*our* Col.), handed to one of our men an order to be ready at half past one tonight with ten men, I am one of the ten and am now ready to kill every *Nigger* I meet, having a fine Colt (six shooter) in my pocket, I expect, however, to return with the loads still in their places.

Give my love to dear Father, tell him I received the check, for which I am much obliged, and will return my thanks to him *personally* in a few days. . . . and believe me as ever, my dear Ma, your loving son Frank. "Good night"

Carr's Hill Univ. Va. April 10th [1861]

Dear Father:

I received your very welcome letter on the 8th ultimo., and was glad to hear that you were all well, but deeply distressed to hear that poor dilatory old Md. was so completely on her back and so firmly pinioned by the dastardly scoundrel ABE. The chances for Mr. C's. "ponying up" are rather slim and I have delayed coming home for that reason. I hope Mr Flanagan will be able to get it by Tuesday as I intend to join the Maryland Guards" at Richmond on Wednesday. I am anxious to commence my independence as a military man & think it quite probable that if God spares me, I will continue in the army. It is the only opening now for a "likely youth of nineteen" and I think [you] will agree with me. I sincerely hope that you will consider this matter as seriously as I do and that I will do (as I have just said I *wished* to do) this with your consent and approbation. There is a large family of us, and I think it no more than right that *one at least* should take up arms

in defense of the South. I have considered this subject deeply and speak candidly when I say "I think I am in the right.["] I don't wish to boast, but only to express what I believe, when saying, I am not afraid of disgracing either my own dear family or the Southern Arms. In Richmond I will be among congenial acquaintances old friends and under wise & considerate officers. I should love to be at home for a few days now to see you all, and were it not for the expense and bitter sorrow at parting from you again would come. I won't start for R. until Wednesday & should like to hear from you. Good bye dear father, give my love to all at home and believe me as ever your affectionate son Frank Voss

[continued]

My much beloved and dearest Ma:

I am sorry that this terrible state of affairs has prevented, perhaps, my fulfilling your fondest hopes in a literary way, that, for the present is effectually done away with it is *impossible* to study, and, as think, very wrong for young men to be leading idle lives when our friends are in jeopardy and our women unsafe from the violence of the ruthless invader. I hope and trust those troops will not encamp in Baltimore, I should come home at once I thought they would. If they do not my presence will not be *required there* and I therefore go where I can be of service. I expect to be home, however, by July and to come as a distinguished veteran. Several of the Baltimore Students will be in the Campaign with me and I know all the M.G.s whom I am going with. We will have very little Fighting to do so you need give yourself no anxiety. Good bye dear Ma Tell brother Geo, Sue, Jessie Willie Nede & Dodie not to forget affectionate brother Frank

April 15th [1861] Central Hotel Charlottesville Va.

Dear father:

We yesterday recd an authentic dispatch stating that Lincoln had issued a proclamation demanding 75000 men etc, also stating that four regiments were on their march through Maryland to Washington. These troops will be resisted without doubt; I am serious in saying that it is my ardent desire to come home; my first interests are with my state to defend my state is my bounden duty I am able to bear arms in her defence and will glory in it; the fight will commence sooner as later, I cannot study in this excitement & believe it to be better for me to go home; the greatest excitement prevails here, the first students in the place have withdrawn, the Baltimore boys all made arrangements with the faculty last night for withdrawing, I among them; I really hope and trust you will approve of this course of conduct. Please telegraph me to day, and tomorrow send me \$100 to pay my accounts and board; I have no time now, as the cars are about to start to make an exact list of my expense I will spend no more than necessary & will return the balance. Yours in haste Frank Voss

Harper's Ferry Monday [April] 22nd 1861

Dear Father:

We have been here since Wednesday last & expect to leave perhaps for Richmond, tomorrow. The University will suspend I have no doubt in a few days, there is no hope of peace, and I am bent on serving *my* Country (The Southern Confederacy): Maryland is *now compelled to secede* by the punishment consequent to her erroneous & tardy action. I hope that she will need my services and that you will be very expeditious in answering this letter. I am very well and delighted with the rough but pleasant life we lead here being under strict military duty: I would advise that, if there is any danger in remaining in Baltimore, that you remove to Va. The gentleman by whom I send this is about to leave. Tell me certainly whether I shall be *required* at home, in that case I can resign, let me know immediately, as we may be ordered off at any moment.

Good bye dear father love to all. Frank

University of Va. April 29th 1861.

Dear Father:

I received your letter yesterday and was disappointed in not finding enclosed the money I wrote to you for. I shall have another opportunity, however, tomorrow to write again. I have made an acct of my debts and expenses, as you desired, and find that \$100 dollars will not much more than pay them off. . . . Our Co will have to disband and I am coming home to join the Maryland forces as anything from a private to a lieutenant. I heard to day that Lexington would be open to *all* from May 1st to 1st July, and that persons attending there would have the same privileges at the end of the time as the old cadets, who are *now* being made officers in the Va. Quota. Please send me this money immediately as I am now passing my time very unimprovingly and am in a most agonizing state of suspense. I was delighted to receive your letter, . . . I am very well but anxious to be doing something more active Your affec. Son Frank

P.S. Excuse my writing with pencil. I have no pen. I omitted to ask for fifteen dollars to buy a minnie rifle, no arms are to be had in stores in either Maryland or Va. this is the most effective weapon in the world and I can [buy] one here for half price: it will soon pay for itself.

Richmond Va June 8th 61

Dear Father:

I received your letter while at Suffolk, and have not before been able to answer that or any others. I was delighted at the prospect of seeing you & have come to town several times to meet you hoping that you would yet come. I have been very well and perfectly contented, and our comfort will be much enhanced in a short

time. I am compelled to write briefly & therefore do I appear indifferent, you of course will understand me. Direct all letters to the care of "Messrs Weston & Williams Richmond Va." Give my love to all at home & believe me as ever your devoted and affectionate Son Frank

I wish you would move to this State.

Winchester Camp Necessity June 26th/61

Dear Sue:

I received two letters one from you & one from Ma a few days since & was delighted to hear that you were all well. I arrived here from Richmond on Monday last. I heard with inexpressible delight that father was here and saw him that night and was with him all the following morning. He left at two o'clock for Manassas gap on his way to Staunton. We are Col Ellesly [Col. Arnold Elzey's] Brigade. I am still blessed with excellent health and am glad to hear you are all well. . . . Good night. Your affectionate Brother Frank.

Give my love to Judith & all conquering friends. F. Voss

Fairfax Co. H. July 25th/61

My dear Father.

I received your affectionate letter yesterday and was grieved that my not writing gave you such uneasiness, and regret deeply I have not written to you sooner. Great difficulty attends writing while in this situation there is such constant excitement and bustle that one can hardly keep his wits about him. Thanks be to God, I have been quite well up to the past four or five days. On Tuesday and Wednesday night and day, we were exposed to a drenching rain, from which, I have suffered a good deal. I am much better now, and hope to be perfectly well in a few days. I had the good fortune to escape in the greatest battle ever fought on this continent *unscathed*.

We left Piedmont on Sunday at 4 o'clock A.M. arrived at Manassas at 10 A.M. when within a mile of the place we could hear the booming of the cannon and see the clouds of smoke. Getting out of the cars we formed in line. Our *regiment* on the right and our company on the right of the regiment. We threw off our knapsacks examined our arms, the Adjutant General rode along the line, gave us the sign and the watch word, and then we started for the scene of action. The boys were in high glee. We marched six miles through a blinding dust in less than an hour without a murmur arrived at the end of this distance we halted washed off the dust got some water and started once more fresh as larks; but now came the most trying part of all, the wounded in great numbers began to be borne by. None seemed mortally wounded but the blood was running from them and they pale and ghastly as with upraised hands they despairingly motioned us back. Some of our men foolishly asked them how the day was going? and they replied Lord sir is

a sad day for us hurry on for God's sake and save it. Our forces had repulsed them three times and they were now making a most terrible onslaught with their entire force. Our troops were fast giving way and the day bade fair to be theirs. I could hear the shot and shell whizzing about my ears in a very unpleasant way. Col. Elzey sent one of his aids to Genl. Beauregard for orders as to the disposition of our Brigade, he soon returned and brought word that he must dispose of it as he saw fit. Col. Elzey then set out. We were passing through a wood when a scorching fire from the front and the right opened upon our line. Ball & Shell fell thick as hail. Sergeant [John] Berryman then walking at my side fell to the ground struck by a shell. It was a miracle that I escaped. It knocked the dust into my face and struck another man but a few feet in front of me. The men behaved remarkably well and advanced like veterans. We had gone about a hundred yards, when a fire impossible to describe was made upon us by their *regulars* ten thousand in number and an immense battery. Fortunately for us they could not see us, and could only fire in the direction they had just seen us advancing. We were also protected by the woods. We then marched from a front to a left oblique direction and then outflanked them. Coming up beyond their extreme right. This was a most efficient move of Elzey's. We were within three hundred yards of them and not seen. There they were drawn up on a high hill, the U.S. flag waving in their midst. We got a little nearer our Battery on our left unlimbered sighted its guns, we cocked our pieces, gave a hearty yell and blazed away, loaded up fired again, then charged and such scampering you never saw. Of course they were out of sight in a moment. We kept in line and marched steadily up the hill, thinking they would halt on the opposite brow of the hill. When we neared the top we were very cautious, and kept ready to receive them. About twenty yards down the opposite side, there was a thick pine woods, from this they fired once & retreated in great confusion. We raked this woods with one good fire, that cleaned it completely. None could be seen in any direction. Our cheer given when we first attacked them inspired the whole line of our brave army, and they advanced as one man and won the day, and gained a most signal victory. Beauregard told Col. Elzey he had been the Blucher of the day. Feeling hungry and fatigued we refreshed ourselves from the enemy's Haversacks and Canteens Their loss is estimated at ten thousand. The road is blocked up with their camp equipage which is magnificent. We took every piece of cannon they had including Sherman's Battery of 14 rifled Cannon and Burnside's Battery, about 30,000 stand of improved arms, at least 100 army waggons, brand new and sufficient ammunition, food of all sorts, blankets, cartridge boxes, knapsacks, haversacks, canteens, over-coats, tents, clothes, cooking utensils, tools, swords, pistols &c for a young army. They retreated in perfect confusion all the way to Washington. We lost from three to four thousand and none of our baggage. It was a most signal victory.

[letter unsigned]

Camp near Centreville Nov 23rd/61

Dear Father:

I wrote a few days since to Mother but was compelled to write very unsatisfactorily. Now however I can at least say what I have been about. Since I saw you we have had a very active & hard time. Yet by no means disagreeable. Our regiment did the largest part of the work in taking Munson's, Upton's & Mason's hills⁶, at these places the fighting was principally between detachments of two & three Companies, it was very exciting and at the same time not very dangerous as the fighting was a one-sided affair entirely the Yanks making but little resistance. On one occasion our Co. was detailed for the special duty of driving some cattle from within the enemy's lines. We started on the expedition and in about two hours succeeded in finding them and were in the act of driving them off when a heavy fire was poured in upon our flank. We immediately came to a stand, discover the whereabouts of the assailants and deployed as skirmishers in that direction, each one looking out for himself.

We were in a woods bordering upon a narrow meadow (about 200 yards wide), and opposite protected by an orchard & concealed in a house were the Yanks. Four of us crept from tree to tree to a pile of brush just in front of the woods. Here I got a beautiful shot at a live Yank who was behind an apple tree taking aim at one of our boys. I rose carefully rested my gun against a tree & took deliberate [aim] for the gentleman's nose feeling confident of bagging him. I fired & Mr Yank dropped, but in a few minutes arose & scampered off behind the house. Just then a scouting party reported a large force of the enemy just in our rear. The captain ordered us to fall back, which we did keeping in the woods, we had not proceeded more than a quarter of a mile when crossing an open gap in the woods a terrible fire was opened upon our right, the enemy were in a house & shot from the windows & fissures between the logs, they were in strong force but the boys were very cool & unconcerned & exchanged many shots with them, I fired four rounds but they were out of range. We then returned leisurely to the reserve, & on the following day dislodged them. Our outermost pickets are now at the Court house (Fairfax). Our generals expect a fight in a few days & are confident of success. I am stouter & in better health than I ever was in my life I weigh about 140. Give my love to all at home & to all my friends. I will not be in Maryland I am afraid for a long time. If you should have an opportunity I wish you would send me some money. I do not think that we will go into quarters this winter but will remain in our tents, we can stand it however. So far I have not suffered at all. Generals Beauregard Johnson & Smith say our[s] is the best regiment in the service & I believe it is you would not recognize it, we are splendidly skilled, well armed and uniformed have a fine drum corps, and the best Colonel in the service a fine officer & one who loves his regiment. Our time of enlistment will be up on the 17th of May next. I wish you would send me a good heavy pair of boots if you

can get them to Weston & Williams or Robert Hough I can get them. Mambach[?] has my measure. Your affectionate son Frank Voss

Richmond August 13th 1862

My very dear Father:

I take great pleasure in communicating with you through the medium of an acquaintance, who expects to start for Baltimore tomorrow or next day. This is the second opportunity of which I have lately availed myself to write home. The first letter went by way of Fredericksburg; and, as its receipt is mentioned in neither of the two ecstatic letters I recently got from Ma & Jessie, I suppose it never came to hand. I have written home several times & it is exceedingly annoy[ing] to hear that "one ought to write," that "every one *else* is receiving letters and *we never* hear." I have been out of the service for some weeks, and do not expect to be able to return to it immediately, *that* is be actively engaged. I was disappointed in regard to a Lieutenancy I expected to get in a cavalry company, and have been detained in my movements in that way. Frank Singleton, the young man mother mentioned in her letter to me, returned last Thursday with Col. Marye, Thornton and the other prisoners; he was a member of the Rockbridge artillery; upon application to ass[t]. Secretary Bledsoe⁷ he obtained a letter recommending him to Gen. Marshall, who has the appointment of officers for the Kentucky district for a captaincy of artillery. He also has a letter from Gen. Pendleton formerly captain of the battery to which Singleton belonged. Gen. Reid of Ky. has promised him the guns, and he will get authority from the government to buy horses. He only has to get his discharge from the battery of which he is now a member, and the principal difficulty in raising his battery of which your humble servant is to be the 1st Lt. will be surmounted. I am heartily tired of being out of the service, and in the event of my failure in this enterprise I will go into the ranks at once. At present I am having a pretty stunning time, and (for a refuge of small means) cutting some what of a swell in the way of riding on horseback with the "young fair" of this place, attending boat excursions down the river etc etc. I can appreciate enjoyment more than ever before, since my year's separation from everything civilized had it not been for this brief respite I should have been a semibarbarian, as it is I *approximate* that felicitous condition very *closely*. The Maryland line has been disbanded, and there is now hope of a more complete & larger organization. Marylanders are coming over every day. The bearer of this will soon leave & I must close with regret. Give my love to all the dear ones at home. I saw Frank Sullivan yesterday he told me a great deal about you all. How are the young men who remain there to escape the draft. Tell brother Geo. he must join my company if he should down here. I wish you would send me a pair of Cav. boots, gauntlets & and an india rubber haverlock. Good bye may God bless you all & spare me to you well & contented. Your affectionate son Frank

I saw Cousin Ellen this morning she has been unwell, but since the favorable change in the weather she has gotten much better. She sends her love.

Richmond Aug 14th/62

Dear Ma.

. . . I saw Frank V. yesterday evening just after I had written to you, he is in splendid health, and fat as he can be, he is endeavouring to form an Artillery Company and wants me to be Sergeant, equal to Lieutenant in Infantry. Just think of your Uncle being an officer in the Artillery gracious alive! How your humble servant would seem when the rotten shot commenced bursting around him. The Sergeant has a horse to ride, which is a great consideration, you know I never was particularly fond of tramping around and getting my feet blistered. I did not get off to day, as I expected I did not get my Pass yesterday, every one has to get a pass that wants to leave the City; tomorrow then I leave to see Harry, that is if I can get up at four o'clock, which means to say Pip, I am not very fond of seeing the sun rise, but all these fancy notions will be taken out of me when I go into service. . . . I saw James Lewis yesterday he is in bed but I think it is more from laziness than anything else, he looks extremely well according to my idea of health.

I told you when I wrote you yesterday that Jackson had gained a splendid victory in the valley over Pope; it has been more than confirmed six hundred will cover our loss, in killed wounded and missing while that of the Yankee's is over two thousand; Gen Winder⁸ of Maryland was killed, a cannon ball almost cut him in two. I want you to send me at the first safe opportunity a pair of good stout Cavalry boots and a Sun Glass. Matches are very high here being seventy five cents a box. I forgot to tell you that I especially want an India Rubber blanket and haversack, they are so valuable that here you have to give about fifty dollars for them. Some more of my friends came into the city to day and more are on the way. We will have quite a respectable sized army of Marylanders before long. You can't imagine what a motley crew this army is composed of dressed in all sorts of styles, some with shoes and some without them and so on I met an old friend of mine up at Camp the other day without any shirt, his only one was in the wash. But the men are all fighting men, you can see it in their looks, tall splendid looking fellows. I saw Stewart Symington yesterday, fixed with all sorts of Gold lace, he looks as fine as you please. When I come into the old State, I am going to be covered all over with lace rings on my fingers and ear rings hanging out of my nose.

. . . I would write you longer letters, but I have such a small supply of paper if you could send me a supply I would be much obliged to you. Small favor thankfully received. Charly is well, and will write soon again What are the fellows in town going to do? If you ever have any money to send me, send Baltimore money, it brings from twenty five to thirty per cent premium

Direct to care of same person, Your Frank

Camp St. Leger. Dec 9th/62

Dearest Mother:

I take advantage of the moonlight to write you a few lines, which through the kindness of a Federal officer may reach you. I am now in Gen Morgan's Command in company B Texas Rangers, a fine set of men and splendid soldiers; am well pleased enjoying good health having a first rate time. I have the finest horse in Command; he is of the Morgan Black Hawk stock, jett black, perfect form, fast trotter, and fleet as the wind, and jump a six rail fence like a deer. I started not a month ago without a red⁹, have made over \$100, a splendid Cavalry saddle bridle & halter, a \$1600 horse, cavalry boots & spurs. Sam is with me enjoys it very much and is well equipped.

Give my love to dear Father brothers, sisters & friends, and take good care of yourselves until I return. Good bye dearest Mother, May God bless you all & preserve prays your affec. Son Frank

Bivouac near Elizabethtown, Ky. Dec. 28th. [1862]

Dearest Father:

Being inside the Yankee lines I take pleasure in writing you a brief acct of the part of the raid we have already accomplished. We left Murfreesboro Tenne. about a week ago, with about 5000 cavalry 6 pieces of art[illery], and 30 wagons; arrived without interruption at [Glasgow] Ky. on Xmas eve; on Christmas morn had a short engagement with some Michigan cavalry, whom we routed of course, drove them through a stockade at Bacon creek bridge, in which there was a Garrison of 70 men, placed these as guard for the bridge & railroad; burnt the bridge made a heavy fire, took the Stockade tore up the track, destroyed the telegraph, and moved thence to Elizabeth[town] where the Yanks had a force of 800 men strongly fortified, these we soon forced to surrender; and we are now resting at our leisure after the fatigues of the march.¹⁰ This is a most glorious service that I am now in, I would exchange my place (private in Co. B. Texan Rangers Morgans Brigade¹¹) for *no* position in the army. We have hard marching, sleep in woods, no tents, lots of blankets good over coats, & boots All furnished us by the considerate Abel (that provident Quartermaster) We have a fight every fine day, and sometimes on rainy ones, in fact whenever we meet the enemy, [. . .] want crackers, butter, cheese, ham coffee, sugar, candy, clothes, wagons or horses; we live on such occasions as this, like fighting cocks; our bill of fare for the past week has luxuriated in the above mentioned eatables together with oysters, salmon, lobster, condensed with and everything else that Yankee ingenuity and epicurean commissaries could produce. I wrote Mother a letter & sent it by a fed. officer, whom we captured with ~ 100 others at Hartsville Tennse. about a month ago, he promised to mail it.¹² at that fight I captured a magnificent charger the finest in the regiment. A cavalry saddle bridle & halter, he is jett black, perfect form, fleet as the wind, tough as hickory. I

wish you could see him; he is the admiration of every one "a horse among the Gals." Sam is with me and is delighted with the service, he has just gone out with a detail to press fresh horses, his has played out, much to his gratification as we are now in a region where fine horses abound. Give my love to dear Ma, brother George, Sue, Jessie, Willie, Ned, Dodie, Bob Elder & all at home. I pray that God may bless you all with good health & happiness, and may in his infinite mercy grant me the inexpressible pleasure of being with you all again. Take plenty of exercise & enjoy all the pleasures of this life, look on the bright side of every thing & be of good cheer. Good by & dear Mother & believe me as ever your affec. Son Frank

Camp Morton, Augt 10th 1863

My dear Mrs Voss

I have obtained per mission from Capt Hamilton, to write you in regard to the death of your beloved son, & my dear friend. On July 4th we dismounted to attack a Stockade on Green River, 4 miles this side of Columbia Ky. Frank as cheerful as I ever saw him, dismounted, tied his gun sling on his saddle, fell in line & marched to the field: if he had any presentiment of death it never showed itself in his countenance, or his actions he being as calm & collected as I ever saw him on any occasion. Our command being engaged for some time: a charge was ordered, Frank was on the right of me when the order was given, he then dashed ahead of Officers & men, exhibiting that gallantry of which, he was ever noted, & when about 15 feet from the stockade or breastworks received the fatal shot in the forehead, & was instantly killed, one of the Co[,] calling me, said; "Sam[,] Frank is shot." I asked him where he was, he said; "A few feet back: saw to the place & there beheld him, I called him by name, but he never responded, it was such a terrible blow to me I seemed to lose all control of myself, I must have been with him 20 min, & turned to ask some of the boys of the Co. to help me to carry him off the field, to my astonishment they had fallen back, I had not heard the order, never thought we would fall back, thinking all the time we could carry him out. but we had to retired leaving our killed & wounded there, I then went to see our Col to ask him to see Genl Morgan¹³ if he was going to send a flag of truce to bury our dead, if he was, I wanted to go with it, but for some reason unknown to me he would not send any, but left some of our surgeons to remain with the wounded, among them was Dr Shepperd of our Regt, I went to see him, he knew the love existing between Frank & myself, I told him of the sad affair, told him how distressed I was in not being able to get him off the field, he then said he would do all he could for me, promised to have his name put on his headboard & attend to everything to my entire satisfaction. I have frequently heard Frank say that if he was to be killed in this war, he wanted to be shot in the head in a charge, but little did I ever dream that such would ever happen to him; if I could only see you I

could tell you so much more than I can write. I have seen so many of our boys wounded & killed, until death lost its horror, but when Frank fell I knew I had lost more than a fellow soldier, I had lost a friend I loved with all the tenderness of a brother, a companion for 11 years, having grown from childhood to manhood together, leading one another by the hand through the various paths of life, delighting in each other's society, in which time, each day was weaving the net of friendship tighter & tighter around us, until we became wrapt up in each other, in thoughts, deed, & it seemed we lived for one another's enjoyment & pleasure: cruel death has separated us forever, but time can never blot out my love for him, or erase it from my memory. Please accept the consolation of a young friend who feels for a loving Mother & family (who have lost such a noble Son) with some degree of filial love which she & they only know. And as it has pleased God to take him away from this world, I feel assured his soul now rests in Heaven with God's own select. Remember me kindly to Mr. Voss & family.

I remain as ever Your dear young friend Samuel Sullivan

NOTES

Samuel Voss, a Voss family descendant, produced initial transcriptions of the letters in 1992 as part of a Maryland State Archives summer internship program under the direction of state archivist Dr. Edward C. Papenfuse.

1. Perhaps referring to the style of hunting that was practiced by the Iroquois of interior Pennsylvania or the Senecas.
2. A taylor, also known as a taylor blue, is a type of bluefish.
3. Carr's Hill was erected in 1854 and originally served as a student boarding house and dining hall for the University. The building was transformed into the university's presidential mansion in 1909.
4. Thomas Holliday Hicks (1798–1865) was governor of Maryland from 1858 to 1862. Henry Winter Davis (1817–1865) served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1854 to 1861 and 1861 to 1863. Davis supported the Unionists in Maryland.
5. John Floyd (1807–1863) was secretary of war under President James Buchanan from 1857 to 1860. Prior to the secession of South Carolina, Floyd opposed secession, but as the crisis over South Carolina grew, he adopted an increasingly pro-southern viewpoint that eventually forced his resignation from the Cabinet in late 1860. Albert Gallatin Brown (1813–1880) was a Senator from Mississippi from 1854 to 1861. Although he initially opposed secession by Mississippi, he later served in the Confederate Congress.
6. These three hills were captured by General J. E. B. Stuart with the aid of the 1st Maryland Regiment in the fall of 1861. Later that fall, in response to the encroaching Union forces, the Confederate forces holding Munson's and Mason's Hills were withdrawn to Centreville.
7. Albert Bledsoe (1809–1877) was assistant secretary of war for the Confederate States of America.
8. Brigadier General Charles S. Winder was killed at the Battle of Cedar Mountain on August 9, 1862.
9. A "red" is a slang term for a cent.

10. The destruction of the bridge at Muldraugh's Hill in Kentucky and the subsequent fighting described in this letter all occurred the day that Voss wrote this letter.
11. Lieutenant Colonel Charles Leroy Morgan (1840–1924), who commanded an independent squadron of about 150 men.
12. This occurred on December 7, 1862, when Morgan's men captured the Federal garrison at Hartsville, Tenn.
13. Brigadier General John Hunt Morgan (1825–1864), a native of Kentucky who joined the Confederate Army and staged periodic raids into Kentucky during the opening years of the Civil War.

Book Reviews

Atlas of Historical Maps of Maryland, 1608–1908. By Edward C. Papenfuse and Joseph M. Coale III. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003, 212 pages. Notes, index. Cloth, \$69.95.)

This book is a sampler of Maryland maps produced over a three hundred year period from 1608 to 1908. It is an update of a book first published in 1982 by the same authors. That book had 142 maps, few in color, while this more recent version has 178, most of them in full color. Large parts of the text remain the same as do the different subsections, "Settlement to Colony," "Charting The Way," "From Colony to State," "In the New Nation," "Growth and Disunion," "Enterprising Map Makers," "Mapping Cities and Towns," "From Pragmatic Surveying to Scientific Cartography," and "Last Frontiers."

The book serves three functions. First, it provides us with a cartographic record of the history of Maryland. From John Smith's 1612 map of Virginia through the Mason-Dixon boundary map of 1768 to a geology map of 1897, the maps in this book provide us with a wonderful set of historical texts. They are what one historian referred to as 'silent witnesses', whose careful reading and rereading can tell us much about the history of the state and the nation. Smith's map for example, reveals an inhabited world not an unpopulated Eden. The map is stamped with a Native American presence in the illustrative material on the borders as well as in the names on territories. The Mason-Dixon map that so laboriously marks out the boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland also demarcates the country into two geopolitical regions whose rupture would cause the Civil war. The map of carefully coded geological strata marks the dominance of a scientific narrative in systematic mapmaking.

Second, the book is a good example of the history of cartography. There are manuscript maps meant for limited circulation, as well as maps mass produced under a variety of different printing techniques. The main forms of colonial cartography are here as well as the different forms of U.S. cartography. The book gives us examples of the Maryland expression of the explosion of urban mapmaking, city illustration, and county map production in late nineteenth-century U.S.

Third, the book allows a detailed historical geography of the state. One can use the maps in this book to follow the historical trajectory of distinct spaces. For example, there are a series of maps of the city of Baltimore beginning with the earliest, A.P. Folie's 1792 map, and the authors place special emphasis on Thomas Poppleton's detailed 1822 map that influenced city mapmakers for the next eighty years. The maps thus allow us to visualize the growth and development of the city.

The book is an aesthetic delight. The large page format and the generous color printing provide a feast for the eyes. Even those not fascinated by maps would agree that many of the maps in this book are simply gorgeous to look at in addition to being important historical texts. In one double page section of the book, John Smith's 1612 map *Virginia*, the first with detailed markings of the future Maryland colony, is placed alongside a satellite image of the Chesapeake Bay. The same territory represented in different medium and across nearly four centuries provides a tantalizing comparison of the enduring topographies and changing histories of the state. The book provides a marvelous visual reference work that embodies this tension of continuity and change.

Any selection is debatable. A sample of maps can generate a debate about what to leave in and what to leave out. My own view is that the authors have done an excellent job of assembling most of the key maps of the era. Their text is a good example of the cartobibliographic tradition in the history of cartography that focuses on historical dating rather than the postmodern deconstruction of the map popularized by such scholars as Brian Harley—an approach that concentrates on the critical analysis of the map and the power relations that it reveals. For this book, one that seeks to provide a cartographic sample of the state, the authors' approach is perfectly fine. It provides the necessary background for those wishing to take a more socially critical tack.

In summary this is beautifully produced book that provides a very good sample of maps of the state. It is very useful as a cartographic record of the state and as a tool for those developing a historical geography of the state. The authors and publishers are to be congratulated for producing such a fine book. The scholar will find something useful and the general reader something of delight.

JOHN RENNIE SHORT

University of Maryland Baltimore County

Conversations with the High Priest of Coosa. By Charles M. Hudson. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003. 222 pages. Appendices, notes, index. Cloth, \$34.95; paper \$17.95.)

In *Conversations with the High Priest of Coosa*, the distinguished anthropologist Charles Hudson writes about the religious traditions of the Coosa, a native American group that flourished in the Southeast from the tenth to the sixteenth centuries. In this book, Hudson describes the Coosa of the sixteenth century focusing on the tribes' sacred beliefs and practices during its last decades.

Though the Coosa existed for hundreds of years, little written or archeological evidence has survived them, frustrating most scholarly efforts to study and understand this native group. With existing data on the Coosa and their religion hard to come by, Hudson chooses an unusual path for an anthropologist who

wants to revive a past culture—he invents it. In *Conversations*, Hudson writes a fictionalized account of Coosan religion, extrapolating beyond the scant surviving evidence and allowing his well-informed imagination to recreate the tribe's historically elusive spiritual world.

To tell his tale of Coosan religion, Hudson creates three characters—a Jesuit missionary on a Spanish expedition through the Southeast, a Coosan priest whom the Jesuit befriends, and a female Indian who translates between the two spiritual leaders. Through the course of several meetings, Hudson allows the Coosan priest to teach the basic tenets of sixteenth-century Coosan religious belief and practice to his Jesuit visitor. The Indian spiritual leader vividly describes the sacred stories and religious rituals that Hudson claims were an integral part of Coosan culture.

Yet, while Hudson offers a creative portrayal of Coosan spiritual life, it is not clear if the religious world he describes belongs to the Coosa. In the absence of surviving evidence from the tribe, Hudson's telling of sixteenth-century Coosan religion relies on the traditions of Indian groups of a much later period. In fact, *Conversations* leans heavily on interviews and collected stories from late nineteenth century Cherokee and early twentieth-century Creek Indians. And while it is believed that the religious world of these more recent southeastern tribes shared with the Coosa in a larger southeastern spiritual tradition, Hudson never sorts out the differences. Hudson's readers are left to wonder what is uniquely Coosan about Cherokee or Creek religious traditions.

Conversations may not reveal the particularities of Coosan beliefs and practices, but Hudson's latest work still remains an accessible introduction to the general themes of southeastern native religious systems, and offers a creative way to begin to understand their broader sacred traditions.

TRACEY BIRDWELL
University of Delaware

Powhatan Lords of Life and Death: Command and Consent in Seventeenth-Century Virginia. By Margaret Holmes Williamson. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003. 335 pages. Notes, references, index. Cloth, \$55.00.)

In *Powhatan Lords of Life and Death*, anthropologist Margaret Holmes Williamson, long one of our most boldly imaginative students of the Powhatan Indians, employs a "structuralist mode" of analysis in an attempt to reconstruct Powhatan culture as of 1607 (1). Although the result, like structuralism itself, is bound to be controversial, Williamson's approach yields some startling and penetrating insights. Anyone interested in the Algonquian peoples of the Chesapeake region will have to attend closely to her analysis.

Structuralism, most often associated with French anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss, may be broadly defined as an attempt at cracking a culture's fundamental

code, going deep beneath the surface of things to find the most basic configurations of thought. The goal is not to explore change over time, nor to identify individual variations, but rather to find the "underlying classifying principles" (229) that structure a people's understanding of the world.

According to Williamson, Powhatan people broke the world down into a series of paired "complementary opposites," starting with "authority" *versus* "power." Power, she argues, is not simply the ability to coerce, but rather efficacy, the ability to get things done. Authority and power are completely interdependent, "the authority has the right to say what shall be done but cannot do it; the power has the ability, but no independent right to act" (15). Powhatan, for example, functioned as an authority over subordinate chiefs who exercised power (got things done); when he decided on war, they waged it. Subordinate chiefs in turn functioned as "authority" when dealing with their subordinated, forming another link in a chain of complementary authority-power pairs that extended all the way to husbands and wives.

Priests, argues Williamson, served as authorities over the chiefs with whom they were paired; this, she argued, was the central relationship in Powhatan politics. It defined their system of "dual sovereignty," and more: it also "expressed categorical relations in every other aspect of the Powhatan world" (254). To cite but a few examples, authority was to power as priests were to chiefs, as spirit was to human, as male was to female, and as death was to fertility. This system of interconnected complementary opposites encompassed everything from food ways to color symbolism. It so thoroughly shaped Powhatan life, Williamson argues, that soil quality and deer habitats were irrelevant to where the Powhatans decided to locate their fields and conduct their hunts; since war, hunting, masculinity, and the West were all associated with one another, and peace, horticulture, femininity, and the East were similarly linked, Powhatan men therefore hunted deer and waged war against people who lay to the west of where their women cultivated fields (218).

Most readers will find something to object to in this analysis. Some will balk at its presentation, for it is not directed at casual readers. Williamson assumes considerable knowledge, employs technical language, and follows the distinctive conventions of social science writing. Other readers will likely decide that the system of thought Williamson elucidates is simply too tidy and schematic to account for well-documented cultural practices. To cite but one example, Powhatan men hunted in the unpopulated upland areas favored by deer. Such areas could be found not only in the "masculine west," as Williamson suggests, but also north or south of the Powhatan villages. On a related issue many readers will object to Williamson's extreme position on the old question of the relationship between nature and culture. Finally, the limitations of structural analysis are manifested in this volume. It has little to say about change over time, about intra-cultural

variation and dissent, or about individual volition, and it tends toward abstraction at the expense of capturing the texture of people's lives.

Yet the very features of this book that will most challenge readers are also what make it especially worth reading, and reading carefully. Williamson never plays it safe—the purity of her theoretical approach, her insistence on plumbing the depths of Powhatan culture, and her willingness to stake out controversial positions are what make this an important, insightful, and original contribution to the burgeoning literature on the Native peoples of the Chesapeake region.

JAMES RICE
SUNY Plattsburgh

American Grit: A Woman's Letters from the Ohio Frontier. Edited by Emily Foster. The Ohio River Valley Series, Rita Kohn, series editor. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2002. 354 pages. Appendixes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$45.00.)

American Grit is a great addition to Rita Kohn's Ohio River Valley series. The extensive letters written by a displaced Quaker Marylander, Anna Briggs Bentley, reveal the complex life of a family making a new start in the wilderness of Ohio during the first half of the nineteenth century. Anna's well-written accounts of everyday life uncover the strong familial connections between the Ohio River Valley and Maryland. For generations, Maryland families such as Anne's had profited from the tobacco industry, but the process had stripped much of the soil of its productivity. By the late eighteenth century, Ohio and Kentucky became magnets for Marylanders whose farmland could no longer sustain families. Even prominent families, like the Briggs, found themselves looking for greener pastures by the early nineteenth century.

Anna Briggs Bentley was the daughter of Isaac Briggs and Hannah Brooke from Montgomery County, Maryland. Her mother's family descended from Robert Brooke who had settled in Maryland in 1650 and served Lord Baltimore as commander of Charles County and lieutenant of the province. The Brookes were a prominent, wealthy, politically influential family in colonial Maryland. Isaac Briggs, on the other hand, was a newcomer to Maryland settling there after the American Revolution. A Quaker graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, Isaac was appointed surveyor general of the Mississippi and Orleans territories by Thomas Jefferson. Despite the advantages they may have had from such promising beginnings, Isaac and Hannah's children faced an uncertain future in Maryland. Thus, Anna and her husband decided to settle in the West with the hopes of establishing a profitable farm on which to raise their growing family (Anna gave birth to thirteen children over thirty years).

Anna, "armed with grit, determination, a sense of humor, and a resolve to

make a better life" (1) left Maryland with her husband and small children and headed for Columbiana County, Ohio. As soon as she reached her Ohio River Valley destination, Anna began a flood of letters to her family back in Maryland. These letters, written between 1826 and 1880, describe in great detail the everyday events in the life of a pioneer woman and her family. Births, deaths, sickness, fires, and explosions, are all carefully recorded along with descriptions of her living quarters, her children's temperaments, and her neighbors' kindnesses. One is left to wonder whether the family could have succeeded had it not been for Anna's neighbors. She depended upon them during crisis periods for moral support and they also provided the Bentley family with food and labor innumerable times. Our understanding of the fragility of frontier life is further enhanced by Anna's vivid depictions of life-threatening farm accidents in addition to her bereavement following the death of her daughter. But perhaps more importantly, her letters also reveal a marriage where pain, suffering, and the day-to-day struggles necessary to survival are shared equally between partners.

The details of domestic life in Anna's letters are a welcome contribution to our understanding of women's experiences on the frontier. And while this reader would have appreciated more historical context and analysis by Emily Foster as well as a thematic rather than chronological organization of the letters, Anna Briggs Bentley's letters are well worth reading. These private glimpses into Anna's life provide us with valuable information about frontier medical practices, religious values and practices, political affairs, crisis management, community interaction, living environment, farm building strategies, food preparation and availability, family structure, family relationships in Ohio and, of course, their Maryland connection.

DEBRA MEYERS

Northern Kentucky University

USS Constellation: From Frigate to Sloop of War. By Geoffrey M. Footner. (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 2003. 392 pages. 9 Illustrations, 25 line drawings, 1 map, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$39.95.)

The U.S. Navy frigate *Constellation* is one of the most famous of American warships. One of six frigates ordered by Congress in 1794 that marked the beginning of the U.S. Navy, she was designed by noted naval architect Joshua Humphreys and built by David Stodder. Launched at Baltimore in September 1797, the *Constellation* was commissioned in the spring of 1798. Rated at thirty-six guns, she was about 1200 tons burden and had a complement of 340. A beautifully formed vessel, the *Constellation* was quite fast, leading to her appellation of "the Yankee Race Horse."

The *Constellation* participated in the 1798–1800 Quasi-War with France un-

der the command of Captain Thomas Truxtun and took the forty-gun French frigate *L'Insurgente* and then two French privateers. Later she engaged the larger fifty-gun frigate *Vengeance*. The French ship was heavily damaged in the exchange and twice struck her flag before the *Constellation* lost part of a mast, which allowed the *Vengeance* to escape.

The *Constellation* then fought in the Mediterranean against the Barbary states. During the War of 1812, although blockaded at Norfolk, she played a prominent role in the defense of Craney Island in 1813. After the war she formed part of Commodore Stephen Decatur's squadron in the brief war with Algiers and assisted in capturing the frigate *Mashuda*.

During the American Civil War the *Constellation* served in the Mediterranean, searching for Confederate commerce raiders. In the 1880s she carried relief supplies to Ireland. During World War II she was the flagship of the Atlantic Fleet, and she remained the oldest warship on the Navy List until struck off and turned over to the city of Baltimore on August 15, 1955. Extensively refurbished, the *Constellation* is now permanently berthed at Baltimore, where she is a major tourist attraction.

Over the years the *Constellation*, as with other wooden warships, underwent extensive rebuilding. In 1970 noted naval architect and historian Howard Chapelle wrote a book entitled the *Constellation Question*, igniting a debate that has raged since. Chapelle claimed that in her 1853 rebuild, the *Constellation* was essentially broken up at the Gosport Navy Yard and that a new ship was built. Indeed, the frigate of 1797 was razed to become a sloop of war. Chapelle's book ignited a firestorm of controversy as individuals rushed to attack his thesis and others to defend it. Among subsequent books are Edwin M. Jameson's *Yankee Race Horse: The U.S. Frigate Constellation* (1977) and Dana M. Wegner's *Fouled Anchors: The Constellation Question Answered* (1991).

Geoffrey Footner leaves no doubt as to where he stands. He accuses Chapelle of creating the controversy by "manipulating" the story with "wild charges." Footner's carefully researched, extensively documented, and elegantly written book may indeed be the last word. Footner argues convincingly, at least to the mind of this reviewer, that the *Constellation* of today is essentially the same ship that was launched in Baltimore Harbor in 1797. He bases this conclusion on careful study of the extensive correspondence as documentation of the repairs and modifications carried out in 1812, 1839, and again in 1853. All three "rebuilt" brought changes to the hull dimensions and shape of the ship. The problem stems from the fact that in the 1853 rebuild the navy decided to modernize the ship to incorporate nineteenth-century naval advances, but Footner concludes that naval constructor John Lenthall retained the basic dimensions and design. Actually the ship was rebuilt a fourth time, during her present restoration.

This is much more than a dry study of the *Constellation*'s design and frequent

modifications and rebuilds. Footner provides a lively history of the ship and her commanders. He argues that while the *Constellation* takes second place in popular sentiment to the more powerful *Constitution* (rated at forty-four guns), she had an enviable and, in some respects superior, combat record.

Footner's book will be of great interest to all those who are interested in the naval architecture of the age of fighting sail, as well as those with a more general interest in the history of the early U.S. Navy. It will appeal especially to those who live on the Chesapeake Bay and embrace the *Constellation* as a national treasure.

SPENCER C. TUCKER
Virginia Military Institute

Slavery in the American Mountain South. By Wilma A. Dunaway. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. 363 pages. Notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$70.00 cloth; paper \$25.00 paper.)

The African-American Family in Slavery and Emancipation. By Wilma A. Dunaway. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. 379 pages. Notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$80.00; paper \$28.00.)

Wilma A. Dunaway, associate professor of sociology at Virginia Tech, has accomplished a tremendous feat in publishing concurrently two monographs on Appalachian slavery. Both works are firmly rooted in a database compiled from antebellum census returns and tax records from 215 Appalachian counties scattered over nine states, from Maryland and West Virginia southward to Georgia and Alabama. To supplement her quantitative analyses of some 26,000 households, Dunaway employs the narratives of former Appalachian slaves and almost four hundred manuscript collections. Taken together, her two books offer a rare glimpse at slavery in the Appalachian South.

In *Slavery in the American Mountain South*, Dunaway argues that the antebellum Mountain South felt "the grip of slavery" and qualified as a "slave society" (241), despite the low black population density and the nonslaveholding white majority characteristic of southern Appalachia. While this contention incorporates Appalachia into a broader slaveholding South, Dunaway simultaneously spells out the differences between slavery in the Appalachians and elsewhere. Some of these findings come as little surprise, such as the fact that Appalachian slaves worked at industrial pursuits, or at a combination of agricultural and nonagricultural tasks, more often than their counterparts in the rest of the South. When Dunaway concludes that the task system predominated on the small holdings of the Mountain South, she confirms recent research among historians suggesting that the task system was in no way confined to the lowcountry. At other times, Dunaway's cliometric analyses produce some noteworthy statistics. Compared to

other U.S. slaves, for instance, Appalachian slaves were 4.5 times more likely to have Native American ancestry or to be Indians themselves. Based on reports in Appalachian slave narratives of slave sales and physical punishments, Dunaway also concludes that slavery was a more brutal institution on the small holdings of Appalachia than elsewhere in the South.

Dunaway pursues the theme of oppression on small Appalachian holdings at greater length in *The African-American Family in Slavery and Emancipation*, taking dead aim at Herbert Gutman's decades-old contention that slaves generally lived in stable, nuclear families. Dunaway depicts Appalachian masters as cold, calculating capitalists who engaged in "inhumane profit maximizing" and in the "super-exploitation" of their chattel (279). According to Dunaway, small slaveholders interfered in slave marriages, breastfeeding decisions, and child-rearing practices; they callously disrupted slave households through frequent sales and the hiring out of bondspeople for extended periods. Moreover, Dunaway argues, Appalachian masters intentionally kept their slaves in a state of chronic hunger and malnutrition, considering it more profitable to feed their livestock instead. The inadequate provisioning, housing, and health care afforded mountain slaves, she continues, resulted in their abnormally high mortality rates.

Together, Dunaway's works perform a valuable service by redirecting our attention to the neglected story of slavery on small holdings. Dunaway is at her best comparing her findings on the Mountain South to the remainder of the South and to the South as a whole. To her credit, she also highlights intraregional variations within southern Appalachia. She has amassed an impressive database in which to anchor her studies, although her liberal use of statistics in the text may periodically overwhelm some readers. More frustrating, and unusual for a pair of books based on quantitative data, was the glaring lack of convenient tables through which readers may evaluate the scholarly apparatus. Dunaway instead directs us to a cumbersome website, http://scholar.lib.vt.edu/vtpubs/mountain_slavery/index.htm, where the insatiably curious may peruse a map, tables, illustrations, a note on methodology, and her bibliography.

Although both books are based on essentially the same sources and data, *Slavery in the American Mountain South* is clearly the less satisfying of the two works. While the chapter on slave resistance does an admirable job describing the social and cultural avenues through which mountain slaves constructed a "counter-hegemonic culture" (206), the individual chapters lack genuine introductions and conclusions to guide the reader. The book's conclusion meanders in search of a main point, occasionally in an unfittingly conversational tone. The underachieving fourth chapter merely summarizes the existing scholarship on slaves' employment in nonagricultural pursuits, offering nothing new for those acquainted with the literature. The chapter also suffers from an inadequate engagement with the relevant secondary sources. Although Dunaway successfully mines a number of

obscure secondary works, exhuming no fewer than seventeen theses and dissertations that predate the Kennedy administration, she overlooks the more recent scholarship on slaves who labored in extractive industries. Furthermore, her chapter on poor whites inexplicably fails to cite Charles C. Bolton, the leading authority on the South's lower class. Strengthening the secondary research would certainly bolster Dunaway's analysis, and do justice to her impressive set of primary source data. Finally, while Dunaway deserves accolades for tying the Mountain South to the global economy, her transparent embrace of Immanuel Wallerstein's world systems theory may strike some as unpalatable.

Compared to *Slavery in the American Mountain South*, *The African-American Family in Slavery and Emancipation* is the better-crafted work. Tighter in focus, it makes a much clearer and more forceful argument, although Dunaway is perhaps overly aggressive in challenging Gutman's scholarship, asserting somewhat unprofessionally that his work "is *just flat wrong* about a majority of U.S. slave families!" (272). Dunaway's contention that the Appalachian slave experience was typical of the majority of U.S. slaves merits skepticism, considering that mountain slaves virtually never engaged in cotton production and that roughly 75 percent of all slaves in the South resided on holdings with ten or more bondpeople. To be sure, Dunaway does an excellent job describing slavery in the Appalachian South, but rather than suggest as she does that her conclusions apply to most southern slaves, it would be more reasonable for her to recognize the fact of regional variation and to accept that slavery was not a monolithic institution. Dunaway's strong convictions are expressed in other equally dubious claims. To take just one example, she downplays slaves' activities in after-hours food production as merely emergency subsistence measures thrust upon them by masters too uncaring to provide even a bare-bones diet. This denial of an independent slave economy in which bondpeople made autonomous decisions regarding their own lives flies in the face of more than twenty years of sophisticated scholarship.

In turning her attention to the Appalachian South, Dunaway has entered an arena of study in which only John Inscocoe and a handful of other historians have tread. Drawing upon her vast collection of primary source data, she paints an exceptionally grim picture of slavery on the small holdings of southern Appalachia—one that surely will meet with criticism and controversy. As a sociologist, Dunaway lacks a firm grounding in the relevant historical literature of the past two decades. As a result, she casts caution aside and imprudently overextends her arguments. Nevertheless, she does succeed in pointing us in the right direction, away from the romanticization of the slave family.

JEFF FORRET

James Madison University

Letters to the Editor

Editor:

May I add a few facts to the article by Michael P. McCarthy whose article on the proposed interstate highway through Leakin Park was in your summer edition? I-70 North, the interstate highway planned to go through Leakin Park and the edges of Gwynn's Falls Park was stopped dead in its tracks by the U.S. District Court's decision titled *Thomas Ward, et al. v. Federal Highway Administration, et al.* The reason the highway was never built was because this decision was never appealed from Judge James Miller's order which prohibited the highway.

And it all started when I was in the Baltimore City Council in 1967 when the council voted 20 to 1 in favor of building the interstate highway through Leakin Park and Gwynn's Falls Park. I was the one vote in opposition. Both the city administration, the state administration, and the federal administration as well as every elected official who bothered to take a position in the State of Maryland, were in favor of construction of this road—with the exception of two.

Unbelievable as it sounds now, almost all the civic associations and newspapers supported the destruction of Leakin Park for this interstate highway whose planned route I had walked many times.

Despite Mr. McCarthy's ambivalence with respect to the Citizens Planning and Housing Association, they supported the highway as did everyone else. Unfortunately for the highway planners they failed to follow the federal guidelines which require an environmental impact statement. This was duly obtained by the Department of Public Works, Interstate Highway Division. But, after the impact statement was completed, they changed the route of the highway through Leakin Park, and the environmental impact statement was never amended—a critical error and the principal point upon which the federal court opinion by Judge Miller relied when striking down the highway.

Unfortunately, as is so true in such matters, the city had already begun to acquire land for construction. For example, that small part of the highway that exists today between Franklin and Mulberry Streets in downtown Baltimore came through early in the acquisition. And, there were other long range disastrous effects, such as the acquisition of homes in the Rosemont area of the city. This became a difficult and troublesome thing to the Schmoke administration when they tried to place the neighborhood back on its feet.

Mr. McCarthy fails to note that the Leakin estate deliberately stated that the land used for park purposes would revert to the Peabody Conservatory of Music if the land was used for anything other than park purposes and it was very specific in spelling this out. Despite this fact, the Department of Public Works, the Federal

Highway Administration, and the Citizens Planning and Housing Association all found that a highway, which was a minimum of six lanes wide and could be as large as fifteen lanes wide, wouldn't have any effect on the park, despite the fact that this road smashed right through the area where the prized Crimea, the summer home of Thomas Winans was located.

In addition to filing a law suit in the federal court with my attorney Henry Conway, we filed a suit in the Circuit Court of Baltimore City against the Department of Public Works, the mayor and city council alleging that the Leakin Estate covenants were violated by putting a multi-lane interstate highway through an extremely rural park containing mostly virgin timber (a large portion of which would have been destroyed).

Judge Meyer Cardin of the circuit court found that the highway was good for the citizenry because it would make the park more accessible. This decision was duly appealed by Mr. Conway and myself to the Court of Appeals of Maryland. Chief Judge Robert Murphy handed down a unanimous decision finding that Judge Cardin's decision was right. A six to thirteen lane highway would indeed enhance park purposes. This outrageous decision ended the fight in the state courts, but thankfully an enlightened federal court struck it from the books. Contrary to the impression Mr. McCarthy gives, the highway decision was never appealed because it was recognized that it would never be approved by future Baltimore City councils who were much more sensitive to the feelings of the general public.

Sincerely,

*Thomas Ward, former city councilman
Second District, Baltimore City*

Editor:

Additional information about the Waterloo Inn, pictured on the cover of the Summer 2003 magazine follows. A useful source for information on the tavern is Ms. Calcott's book *Mistress of Riverdale*. Rosalie Stier Calvert bought the tavern in 1811. As you know, the book is based on the letters Ms. Calvert wrote to her Belgian relatives. In addition to the letters used in this book, the files at Riversdale house contain copies of other letters written after Ms. Calvert's death by other family members. I also have access to some of Caroline Calvert Morris' letters to her mother-in-law, Anna Willing Morris.

The fire in 1835 obviously affected the tavern. That the fire occurred the month the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad finished the Washington line is interesting as well. Because of the railroad there was no incentive to expend the funds necessary to reopen the tavern in the grand scale of the past. In January 1836, George Calvert dumped the property on his daughter Caroline and her husband, Thomas Willing Morris.

After George died in 1838, Thomas Morris learned that much of the family

property belonged to Caroline's Belgian grandfather, not her father. Morris, as an attorney, began the long process of obtaining more of the estate for his wife and children. All information had to come from the Belgian relatives. Caroline's brothers would not cooperate as they came into almost all of the assets that George Calvert claimed as part of his estate. Copies of the letters exchanged between Thomas Morris and Caroline's Belgian relatives are at Riversdale.

In an early 1839 letter to the Belgian relatives, Thomas Morris makes his case as an aggrieved party explaining the depreciated value of the tavern property, not only because of the fire, but because of the railroad. However, he does write that before Caroline came into the Waterloo property, some money was spent on repairs. There is some evidence that the tavern may have reopened for a time in late 1836 and early 1837. Thomas Morris also indicated, in that same 1839 letter, that he tried to sell the property but was not satisfied with the price he could obtain. Morris also stated that they were staying at Waterloo during the mild weather, but that the tavern was not comfortable enough for his family to live there year round and more repairs were needed. Despite these comments, the family did move to Waterloo, full time, in 1839. Letters to Morris' mother Anna, written from Waterloo, began that year. In those letters, Caroline and her daughters indicate that Thomas continued to repair/improve what became a farm house on 400 acres.

George Calvert had reaped tremendous benefits from businesses, including the Waterloo Inn, that operated along the Washington Turnpike. He earned \$2500 per year during its peak, served as president of the Washington Turnpike Company, owned the Rossburgh Tavern in what is now College Park, and profited from stock holdings in bridge companies and perhaps other investments. The cash flow from all of his turnpike related assets dropped dramatically after the B&O started running trains between Baltimore and Washington and the turnpike stock became virtually worthless. I suspect that Caroline received an allowance from this cash flow and when the turnpike bubble burst, George stopped the allowance and dumped the property on his daughter. When they could not get a satisfactory price for the property Caroline and her family were forced to move to Waterloo.

Caroline died in 1842 and Thomas ten years later. After their father's death the four Morris children sold the property to David Hayes. Hayes' name appears on the 1860 Martinet map exactly where the tavern was located. One of the Morris daughters, Anna, married Frank Key Murray of Rockburn in Howard County. Anna's heirs left the portraits of Rosalie (holding Caroline as child) and George Calvert to the Maryland Historical Society.

Sincerely,

Grover Hinds

Editor:

Thank you for publishing the informative article in Summer 2003 on antebellum Chestertown by Dr. Harold Hurst, a member of the Historical Society of Kent County. It is always a pleasure for this society to aid local authors in their pursuit of the past and see their work come into print.

However, and you knew there would be one, I was stunned to see that no one caught the error about the number of Virginia counties on the lowermost segment of Delmarva. The article misstates the presence of three counties when in fact there are only two: Accomacke and North Hampton. Considering that I've met folks in Somerset County who look baffled when I tell them I'm from Kent County and have to explain "it's on the upper Eastern Shore," we can forgive your editorial staff for not catching this out-of-state error.

...

Best Wishes,

Mary Kate O'Donnell

Executive Director, HSKC

Notices

Second Annual Signature Lecture Series

The Maryland Historical Society's Second Annual Signature Lecture Series features three distinguished speakers, three distinctive topics, and one predominant theme—all in celebration of the new exhibition, *Looking for Liberty: An Overview of Maryland History*. Dr. Ted Widmer, inaugural director of the C.V. Starr Center for the Study of the American Experience, will address the inherent tension between the American ideal of liberty and international resentment of U.S. attempts to export liberty as a commodity. His lecture, "The Ark of Liberties: America & the World," will be held Friday, November 21, 2003, at 7:30 p.m.

In celebration of Maryland Day 2004, Dr. Timothy Riordan, chief archeologist of Historic St. Mary's City, will present an exciting lecture from his forthcoming MdHS Press book *The Plundering Time: Maryland and the English Civil War, 1645–1646*. The lecture is scheduled for Maryland Day, Thursday, March 25, 2004 at 7:00 p.m.

The final installment in the series will commemorate the 50th anniversary of *Brown v. the Board of Education*, the Supreme Court decision that nullified the "separate but equal" doctrine. Juan Williams, regular panelist on FOX News Sunday and senior correspondent for National Public Radio, will discuss his book, *Thurgood Marshall: Radical Judge*. Williams will share his story of personal interviews with Marshall, the native Baltimorean and lawyer who argued and won the landmark case and went on to become the nation's first African American Supreme Court Justice. This event will be held on Friday, April 30, 2004 at 7:30 p.m.

All of the lectures, followed by a book signing, will be held in the society's France-Merrick Hall. Series packages are \$25 for Maryland Historical Society members and students with valid ID and \$40 for non-members. Individual lecture prices are \$10 for members and students and \$15 for non-members. For additional information, or to purchase tickets, call 410-685-3750 x321.

Undergraduate Essay Contest

The Maryland Historical Society annually honors the best essays written by undergraduates in the field of Maryland and regional history. Essays are judged on the originality and freshness of their approach to research in primary sources (original historiographical essays will also be considered), the significance of their contribution to Maryland history, and their literary merit and technical form. First prize is \$500, second prize \$250, third prize \$100. Winners will receive a one-year membership to the Maryland Historical Society. All entries will be consid-

ered for publication in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. A cover letter containing the student's college, major, and mentoring professor must accompany each entry. Send four copies of the essay to the Maryland Historical Society Essay Contest, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, MD 21201. Entries must be postmarked by January 1, 2004.

The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Scholars in Residence Program

The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission is now accepting applications for its 2004–2005 Scholars in Residence Program. The program provides support for full-time research and study in any of the commission's facilities, including the Pennsylvania State Archives, the State Museum of Pennsylvania, and the twenty-six historic sites and museums across the state. Residency programs are open to anyone conducting research on Pennsylvania history—academic scholars, public sector history professionals, independent scholars, graduate students, educators, writers, and filmmakers. The application deadline is January 16, 2004. Complete information and application materials may be found at the PHMC web site, www.phmc.state.pa.us. For additional information contact Linda Shopes, Scholars in Residence Program Manager, at 717-772-3257 or via email at lshopes@state.pa.us.

American Historical Association Annual Meeting

The association's 118th annual meeting will be held January 8–11, 2004, in Washington, D.C., at the Marriott Wardman Park, the Omni Shoreham, and the Hilton Washington. Many of the profession's most distinguished members will be present to deliver papers. More than 1,300 scholars—including 117 foreign scholars—will participate in the four-day meeting. In addition, forty-nine specialized societies and organizations will meet in conjunction with the AHA. Each society will hold its own sessions, luncheons, or meetings, as well as some joint sessions with the association. James M. McPherson of Princeton University will deliver the presidential address the evening of January 9. The association's book awards, awards for scholarly distinction, the Eugene Asher Distinguished Teaching Award, the Beveridge Family Teaching Prize, the Gilbert Award, the Gutenberg-e Awards, the John E. O'Connor Film Award, and the Nancy Lyman Roelker Mentorship Award will be announced. For additional information, including the conference program, visit the association's website www.theaha.org or phone 202-544-2422.

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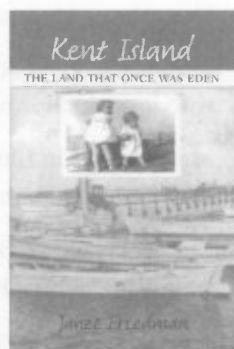
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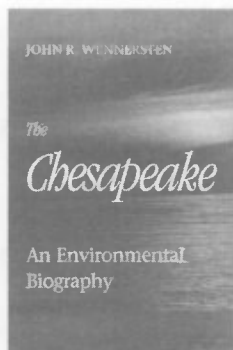
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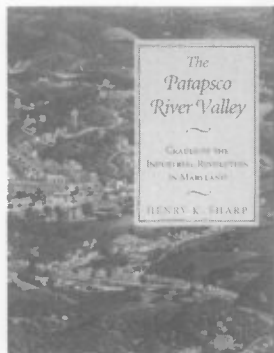
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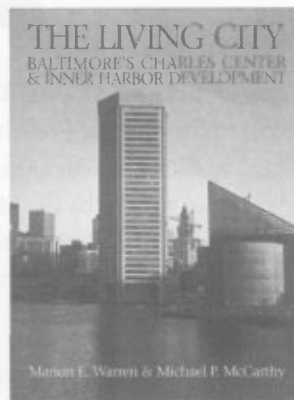
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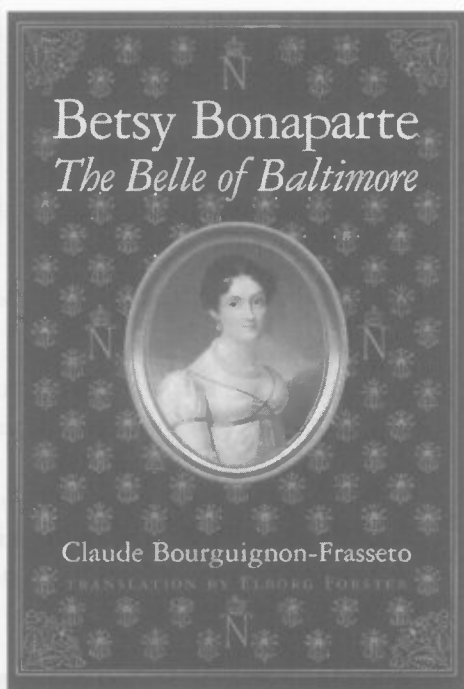
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